

# The Progressive Review

& DC Gazette



JUNE-JULY 1984

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ONE DOLLAR



# THE WEATHER REPORT



**BRITS AND BIRTH:** According to a survey published in *Women of Europe*, 60 to 80% of British fathers are present at childbirth. Ninety percent of the men also reported taking time off from work to be with their newborns. Info: Equal Opportunities Commission, Overseas House, Quay St, Manchester, M3 3HN, UK.

**FIRST WOMAN TRIBAL CHIEF:** The Cherokee Nation has elected its first woman to sit as a chief. Wilma Mankiller, a community development specialist, says that understanding how to build houses and water lines won her the council post.

**RUNAWAY OFFICES:** The San Jose Mercury News reports that American companies are beginning to use satellite telecommunications to avoid paying going wages to clerical workers. Until recently, invoices, questionnaires and subscription information were shipped abroad on magnetic tape for data entry in third world countries where wages are lower. With the new telecommunications, time lags which made the process cumbersome have disappeared. Much of the work is sent to Barbados. The Mercury quotes a Barbados firm, Caribbean Data Services, as stating that since December it has been processing all tickets for American Airlines. At CDS, computer data entry clerks earn \$1.75-\$3.00 an hour, far less than their American counterparts. A second firm is using satellites to send clerical work abroad. Says Janice Blood of Nine to Five, "This is just what Nine to Five feared about the office of the future." Michael Donovan, of the American Institute for Free Labor Development, says that exporting clerical work is a response to union organizing among white collar workers.

**MORE HUMAN RIGHTS VOTES:** The Laguna, Ca., city council has unanimously approved a human rights bill that prohibits discrimination against gays and lesbians.

**MINORITY BUSINESS AID:** San Francisco mayor Diane Feinstein has signed a law that sets aside ten percent of all city contract dollars for minority owned businesses and two percent for businesses owned by women.

**COLLEGE STUDENTS POLITICALLY INDIFFERENT:** A survey of students at fifty campuses around the country found that less than one in three expressed a strong desire to influence political decisions and structures. Researcher Jon Miller of the Public Opinion Laboratory of Northern Illinois University also found that only five percent said they'd work actively for a political party or candidate. More than two thirds said their major goals were raising a family and becoming financially well-off.

**LEADING LIBERAL LOSES:** Rep. Katie Hall(D-Ind), ranked as one of the top five liberals in the House by the National Journal, lost her primary reelection bid last month.

**PACIFICA 35 YEARS OLD:** Pacifica radio recently celebrated its 35th anniversary. The alternative radio network began in 1949 with Berkeley station KPFA -- the world's first listener-sponsored station. Today Pacifica has stations in five of the largest markets, has a Washington news bureau and distributes thousands of tapes to stations, schools and libraries.

**PEOPLES CONVENTION:** A coalition of peace and environmental groups plans to hold a three-day Grassroots People's Convention in Oakland,

California, just prior to the Democratic Convention. Afterwards members plan a demonstration at the Democratic Convention and lobbying of the delegates. Organizers estimates that as many as 50,000 demonstrators may show up. The coalition includes the Gray Panthers, Greenpeace, Ground Zero, Physicians for Social Responsibility and the Sierra Club among others, with a combined membership of more than ten million.

**BLACK MAYORS BACK SUBMINIMUM WAGE FOR YOUTH:** The National Conference of Black Mayors has backed a subminimum wage for youth that also has the backing of the Reagan administration. The mayors supported a plan that would allow those 16 to 21 years old to be paid 75% of the minimum wage for work after school and during the summer between May 1 and September 30. The endorsement of the mayors was less than wholehearted, however. Mayor Johnny L Ford of Tuskegee, Alabama, said "If \$2.50 an hour is all we can go with at this time, we'll take whatever we can get." Other mayors favored the program but only on a trial basis. The plan is opposed by many labor leaders who fear it will take jobs away from adults. And Kenneth G. Nochinson, director of the National Youth Employment Coalition, told the New York Times that a study by his group had shown that a subminimum wage would not create a significant number of new jobs.

**POT LEGALIZATION OPPOSED:** Two out of three college students oppose the legalization of marijuana according to a survey by Newsweek. Back in 1975 a similar survey found that 52% of college students approved legalization. The usage of pot has

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# Leftie junk mail

*Bloomington Post Amerikan*

In between the True Value Hardware catalogues, Farm & Fleet flyers and Dairy Queen coupons, there is a special genre of junk mail.

No folks, this junk mail has nothing to do with new detergents or sugar cereal. This junk mail offers you the opportunity, via long-distance and checkbook, to participate in the great issues of our times.

Worried about nuclear war? Concerned about Central America? Enraged about deteriorating race relations? Just sit back, whip out the old checkbook, and drop \$25 (preferably \$50) in the mail, and you too can be part of the solution.

In January, uninspired by winter's depths, I started a new collection--leftie junk mail. Nuclear War leads the collection with over 20 organizations begging for my dollars to end this menace.

But this is also an election year, so the Democratic Party wasn't far behind, with letters from the whole

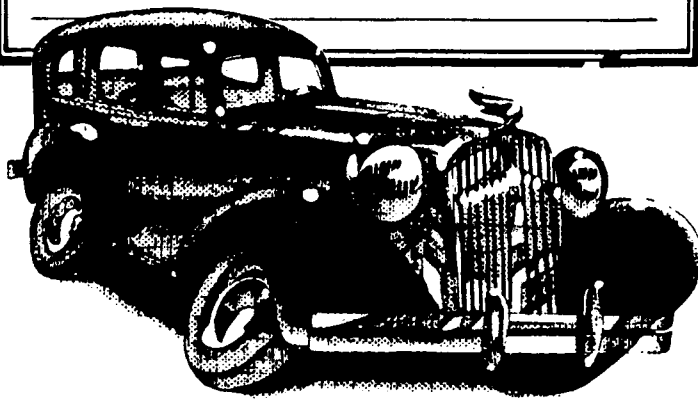
spectrum: John Glenn to Alan Cranston (no Jesse Jackson), plus Ted Kennedy and the party's congressional wing. They are a little more subtle, and ask for my opinion (as if my opinion fits into one of four little boxes) before they ask for my money.

Along the way I've been asked to buy land for wild-life, support abortion rights with Kate Hepburn, and fight the Nazis and the Klan with Maria Von Trapp. The one that continually irks me is the Progressive magazine, which offers me a subscription at least twice a month, even though I already have one.

I hope I'm not some hopeless loon, isolated in Central Illinois, unaware of how effective my contribution could be. I know that many organizations and publications are walking a tight-rope of fiscal responsibility. I know that tight-rope well, so I can relate to their dilemma. But, somehow, what I thought made being a leftist different was the concern for local community and the concern for

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## THE CLASSIFIEDS



Classified ads are five cents a word. Count your own words and send payment with ad to the Progressive Review, 1739 Conn. Ave. NW, DC 20009)

RECON spring issue includes Weapons for Space War, Cruiser to Weight Watchers, Staten Island Fights Battleship Base, Army's Eight Useless Weapons and more. Send \$10/year (4 issues) to PO Box 14602, Philadelphia Pa. 19134.



### The Progressive Review

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The Review welcomes articles and letters but unfortunately can not pay for them. All submissions should be made with a stamped, self-addressed envelope if you wish the material returned.

Deadline for editorial and advertising matter: 15th of the month.

EDITOR: SAM SMITH  
CONTRIBUTING CORRESPONDENTS: Charles McDowell, Eugene McCarthy, Chuck Stone  
CARTOONIST: John Wiebenson

THE PROGRESSIVE REVIEW  
1739 Conn. Ave. NW  
DC 20009  
202-232-5544

ENERGY FROM WASTE: All you ever wanted to know about burning wastes for energy. Same 8 page newsletter. Resource Recovery Report, 1707 H St. NW, DC 20006. (jn)

THE ESTABLISHMENT CAN BE CHANGED so there are no rich and no poor. Guardian Angels explain in the book, OASHPE. \$12.00 postpaid. K. Emmons, 1720 South King Avenue, Lakeland FLA 33803 (jn)

FLY FREE IN THE US AND ABROAD ANYTIME! Scheduled and non:scheduled flights!! Plus other travel discounts and freebies your travel agent will rather not talk about including easy ways to make \$100,000 yearly while you travel or vacation free worldwide. Doesn't depend on luck. Depends on what you know. 56 page insider's booklet \$3 (Money back guarantee), Fortunate Travel, Box 6055E, Washington DC 20005 A (ap5)

PROGRESSIVE PERIODICALS DIRECTORY now available! Good for networking, publicity, subscription details on 400 periodicals about peace, health, environment, culture, international . . . entire left. \$4. From Box E-120574, Nashville 37212. (oct)

HOW TO EARN MONEY AS A CONSULTANT. Self-management systems recently adopted by major consultancies and CIA. Info: \$1.00. Business Psychology Int'l, POB 235-57, Boston Mass. 02159.

NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF VIETNAM'S VICTORY: Read How We Won the War by General Giap. Send \$5 (includes handling) to RECON, PO Box 14602, Philadelphia PA 19134



# BURNING FOR DEMOCRACY

Chris Hedges

SAN SALVADOR -- The Salvadoran Air Force is using incendiary bombs against the civilian population in the zone around the Guazapa Volcano, according to displaced people who recently fled the area, troops who operate in the zone, and a European doctor who examined two civilians wounded during an attack.

Their descriptions appear to indicate that both napalm (jellied gasoline) and white phosphorous are being used.

Salvadoran and U.S. officials deny that there are incendiary bombs in the Air Force's arsenal.

"We do not have incendiary bombs," says Col. Arispides Cienfuegos, the spokesman for the Salvadoran Joint Chiefs of Staff. "I have never seen these types of bombs since my arrival in this post in June, 1983. Before that I don't know."

"We do not supply incendiary bombs to the Salvadorans," says U.S. Embassy spokesman Greg Lagana. "The only incendiary device is the 2.75 millimeter white phosphorous rocket used to mark an area for bombing," he says, probably referring to a 2.75 inch device. "This rocket can cause a fire in a dry area."

Chief of operations for the Salvadoran Air Force, a Capt. Barrera, refuses to comment on the charges, saying all statements from the armed forces must come from the Joint Chiefs of Staff press office. "If you've talked to the US Embassy," Barrera asks, "why do you need a statement from us? Who do you believe more, the subversives or the embassy?"

Those who contend they have survived incendiary attacks in recent weeks say the bombs are dropped on them by helicopters, light aircraft and A-37 Dragonfly Jet-Fighter Bombers. The size of these incendiary bombs apparently vary from rockets to much larger containers.

Civilians from the zone refer to the incendiary material as the "flaming liquid." They distinguish between two different types -- one that appears to resemble napalm and the other white phosphorous.

"The worst bomb is the one that shoots out fire and cannot be put out," says one man who recently fled from the town of Guadalupe, which residents say was destroyed by incendiary bombs two weeks ago. "This bomb has a strong bitter smell and when pieces of the flaming liquid land on you they eat deep into your flesh and travel along your body."

Residents contend that if water is put on a wound caused by this type of bomb the burning will continue. They say they must shield nose and mouth with a damp cloth to lessen the effect of toxic fumes.

"When burning white

phosphorous enters the body it keeps on burning," Dr. Matthew Meselson, a Harvard University biochemistry professor who is an expert on chemical weapons, said in a telephone interview. "It will burn under water and actually burn inside the body. It is a horrible anti-personnel weapon. The white phosphorous will also emit acidic sulfuric fumes and the effects of the fumes could be reduced by the use of a wet handkerchief over the mouth."

Residents from the zone say the second type of incendiary bomb creates clouds of black smoke which make it hard to breathe. They say it shoots out larger pieces of flaming liquid, and leaves an oily film over the water and along the ground.

"From the description," says Meselson, "it sounds like napalm. Napalm burns at a much higher temperature than white phosphorous so it consumes more oxygen. The oily film could be from napalm residues on the ground."

"The United States and other countries," says Meselson, "have stockpiled large quantities of napalm, white phosphorous and related flame weapons since the Vietnam war."

Dr. Meselson says such weapons could easily be devised on the battlefield and he and others note napalm can be used in conjunction with "iron" bombs -- the term used to describe bombs simply dropped from the air -- which are not themselves incendiary.

The Salvadoran Air Force, according to military officials here, is equipped with 250, 500 and 750 lb. explosive "iron" bombs. The Air Force recently acquired anti-personnel "iron" bombs which explode about a yard before hitting the ground, according to these sources. All of these bombs are fragmentation bombs, which send shards of metal flying when they explode.

"Usually we drop incendiary bombs before we begin operations in the area around the volcano," said a Salvadoran soldier from the Fifth Infantry Brigade, who was standing with several of his companions at the rear guard of a

fire fight near Tenancingo. "By the time we enter the area, the land has been burned over, and the subversives pretty well toasted."

Soldiers in the Atlacatl Immediate Reaction (IR) Battalion also contend that incendiary weapons are used before large-scale operations in the zone. Soldiers from both the Atlacatl and Fifth Brigade say they have seen small villages in the area burned to the ground and large tracks of land charred by incendiary bombs.

"We have holes dug in the ground outside our villages to hide in when the planes come," says another villager displaced from Guadalupe. "And we keep the children in the holes or near them all day."

"At first the Air Force dropped bombs which knocked down trees and houses, killed people and made a three meter (over nine foot) crater. Then they began to drop bombs that exploded before hitting the ground, and others that made craters eight meters (over 26 feet) deep to kill us as we hid in our shelters. Now they use the worst bomb of all -- the flaming liquid."

"I was outside my house when the bomb fell," says one woman. "I could not see anything because of the black smoke and could not get air. Everything was on fire. My two children burned to death."

This woman contends she was wounded by this bomb. She has several large areas of scar tissue on her body.

"Napalm," Dr. John Constable, a burn expert at Massachusetts General Hospital who treated incendiary weapons victims in Vietnam, said in a telephone interview, "will burn in large patches along the surface of the skin where it makes contact. The burns are different than those of white phosphorous which are more profound wounds that often resemble the pattern left by a shot gun wound."

Another woman now living in a displaced person's camp in the capital is marked with keloid scar tissue, which resembles several

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## MORE ARMS, MORE PEACE? Increasing US Weapons for Central America

Fiscal Year	Military Agreements	Military Deliveries
1979	\$ 7.3 million	\$14.5 million
1980	\$ 39.7 million	\$36.3 million
1981	\$ 44.6 million	\$18.1 million
1982	\$111.3 million	\$59.5 million
1983	\$177.4 million	\$70.1 million

Note: Figures are current dollars and include cash sales, loans and grants.

Source: DoD.

Chart prepared by the Center for Defense Information.

Oakland A's third baseman Carney Lansford says this year's crop of baseball bats is the worst he's ever seen. And first baseman Bruce Bochte thinks he knows why: the wood comes from forests in the northeast which have been hard hit by industrial pollution. An official of the firm that makes Louisville Sluggers, however, blames the players for insisting on lighter bats and says he doubts a 75-year-old tree would be affected by acid rain.

Some 21,000 TV sets were turned on by remote control when a computer malfunctioned at a cable company in the St. Louis suburbs and remained on until someone at home turned them off.

The Southern Libertarian Messenger reports that Gary Allerheilgen of Independence, Kan., ordered forms from the IRS and got instead ten pounds of surplus cheese. Other choice bits from SLM include a story that someone put a piranha in the fountain at Iowa State University and it bit two employees. Also, in Dacca, the Continental Hotel warns that "Ladies in shorts and mini-skirts will be stoned."

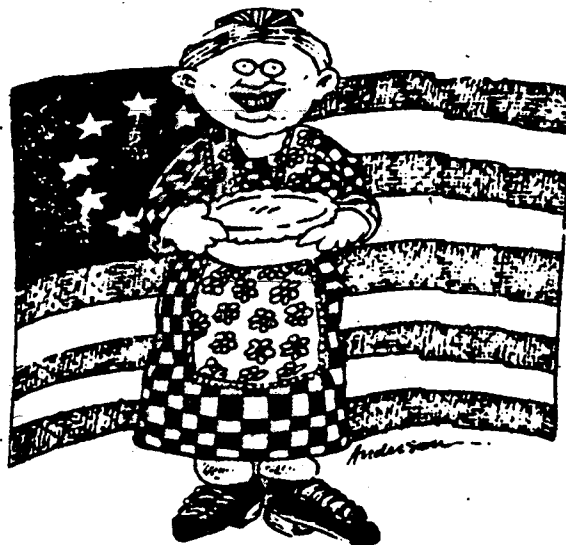
For the first time in fifteen years, young girls are crowding the record stores. A national survey found that the number of female record buyers has doubled in the last two years and they're twice as likely to be under the age of 15. That could have a big effect on who makes the top 40. Young girls are turned off by heavy metal and prefer pop-oriented bands like Menudo or Duran Duran.

Meditation is supposed to be good for everything from high blood pressure and alcoholism to asthma. But a University of Kansas researcher says he's come up with an improvement: the Barca-Lounger. Psychologist David Holmes says studies have shown that sitting in a reclining chair has the same effect on heart rate, blood pressure and muscle tension. In fact, he says, there is no evidence that meditation reduces stress any better than simply relaxing.

The Indians who sold Manhattan to Dutch colonists for \$24 in 1626 may not have made such a bad deal. Real estate consultant Edgar Madsen says that \$24, invested in a savings account at 6% compound interest, would now be worth \$27.6 billion, or \$4 billion more than the assessed value of all the taxable real estate on Manhattan.

No more big theme parks will be built in the US, say industry executives. The market has apparently reached the saturation point.

Population experts studying results from the 1980 census have discovered a small but interesting trend: old



## Apple Pie

people are beginning to migrate from the Sun Belt back to the Northeast. An estimated 9000 retired people moved from Florida to New York, twice as many as in the previous decade.

An official of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration has told congressional investigators he can't supply some crucial documents because his dog threw up on them. Leonard Vance, head of OSHA health

standards, had been asked to turn over his appointment calendar in connection with charges he blocked efforts to restrict use of a cancer-causing chemical. Vance told the investigators his records were in the back of his pickup truck when his dog got sick. He says he had no choice but to drive to a dump and get rid of them.

Lonely Long Islanders now can reach out and touch someone, thanks to a new service called "Phone-a-Friend." It's an experimental project by Nynex, the Bell spinoff in the Northeast, and it works like this: there are three phone numbers, for young adults, the middle aged and the elderly. Dial one up and you are patched into a conversation with up to four other people. It's sort of a random party line, and you don't have to talk, you can just listen. The services isn't free, however. It costs up to 24 cents for the first minute. Nynex plans to expand coverage if the idea catches on. A similar service in Brazil now handles between 12 and 15 million calls a month.

A plan to ban outhouses in Wisconsin has gone down the drain because of  
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# "YES!"

High-efficiency gas appliances make it easier for you to say "Yes!" to a new home.

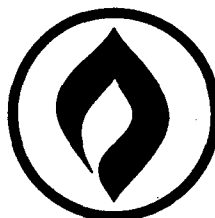


Next to mortgage payments, utility bills are the largest single monthly housing expense. So it makes sense to look for high-efficiency, energy-saving gas appliances when you shop for a new home.

Natural gas is the most economical, efficient fuel available. And modern technology makes the new, high-efficiency gas appliances better energy

savers than ever before. Most new furnaces, water heaters, ranges and dryers are equipped with special energy-conserving features designed to use less gas and save you more money.

If you're looking for a new home to say "Yes!" to, start by making sure the ones you consider feature high-efficiency gas appliances.



**Washington Gas**



# LETTER FROM BOLOGNA

Barbara Bick

Another in a series of letters from one of Europe's most progressive cities.

Jobs and the potential for fruitful employment are major prerequisites for a robust, flourishing city. Early on, Bologna's city government clearly understood that the most excellent housing policies and the most pleasing ambience are not sufficient to maintain civic health without an economic base. At the same time, it was resolved to balance economic priorities with quality of life. The vision was that Bologna should remain a small city with a population of under 600,000. It would include a mix of workers and artisans, merchants and the middle class, service trades, the university, professionals, the young and the elderly. This meant that industrial growth, as well as population growth, had to be controlled and limited. This implied restraints on the expansion private enterprise claimed it needed (pulling large numbers of workers into the city) and on private response to periods of crisis (throwing large numbers of workers into unemployment.) Similarly, this implied municipal restrictions on industrial pollution and on unlimited traffic access, in order to preserve livable neighborhoods in the center city. But simultaneously, private enterprise and job creation had to be encouraged. This was going to take some doing, some experimenting and some struggling. Not every project -- or struggle -- would be successful.

On behalf of its housing and zoning policies, Bo's city council had vigorously pushed several new national land-use laws initiated by the left in the 1960s. In the early '70s, the council was the first in Italy to use another new piece of national legislation -- Law 865 -- on behalf of its work-place planning and economic policies. Article 27 of this law entitled Italian local governments to expropriate and buy property without having to pay inflated market prices. The municipality, therefore, had at its disposal an effective instrument for determining the location and size of new firms, since it was in a position to distribute scarce building sites to interested entrepreneurs.

But the city planners went further and in 1974 introduced a "Plan for Production Areas." During the next ten years, three large trade and industry zones were

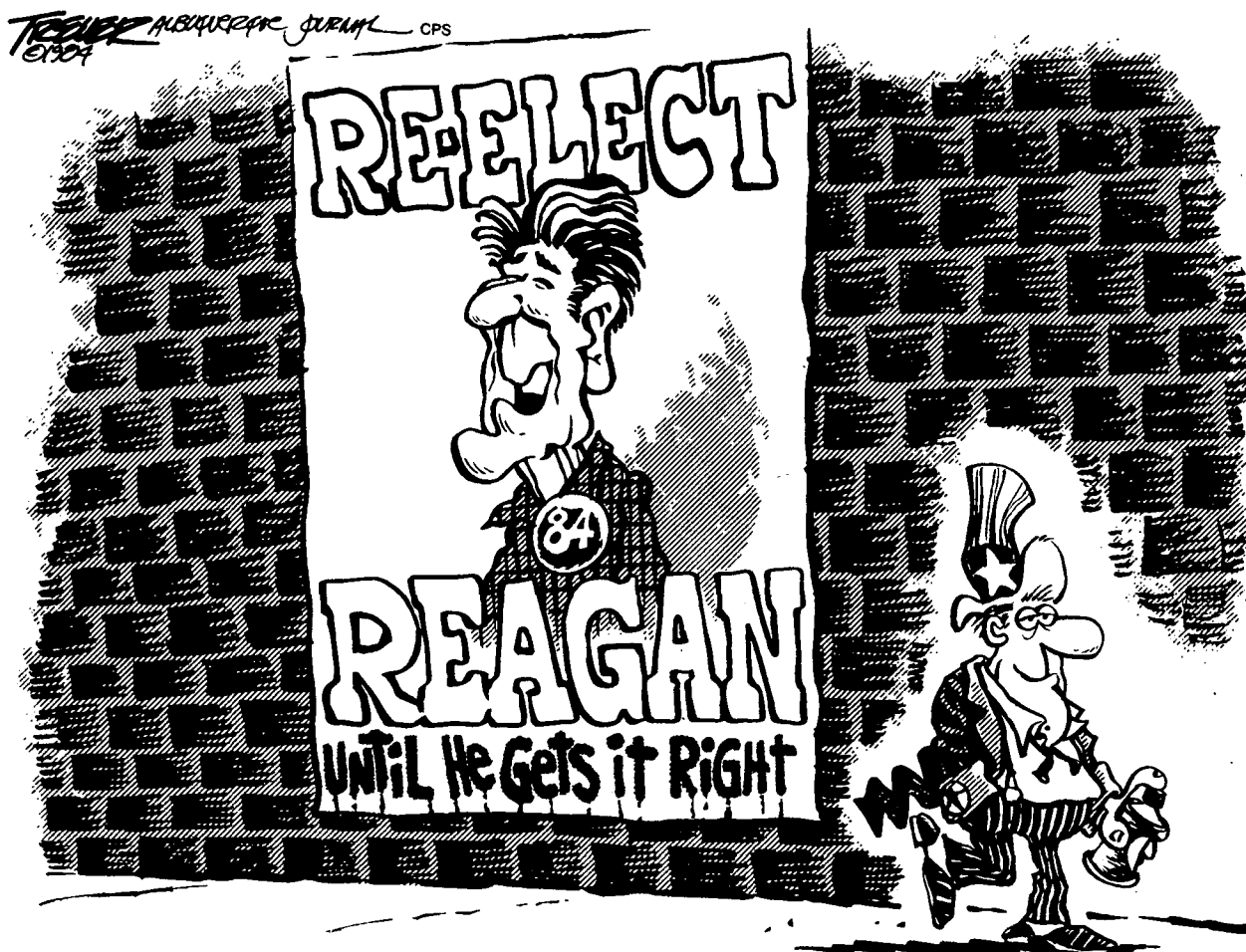
created within the city: Roveri in the northeast, Lame in the north and Lazzaretto in the south. Thus, without allowing factories to spread haphazardly, industrial jobs have been maintained within the city, easily reachable by public transportation (although a 1971 census showed that one-third of the Bolognese prefer to walk to work or school). Last year, Law 865 was declared unconstitutional by Italy's top court on the grounds that a free market society can not restrict the price of land. By now, however, the city appears to be contentedly stabilized in its distribution of housing, jobs and retail network of many small shops which provide such providential consumer convenience.

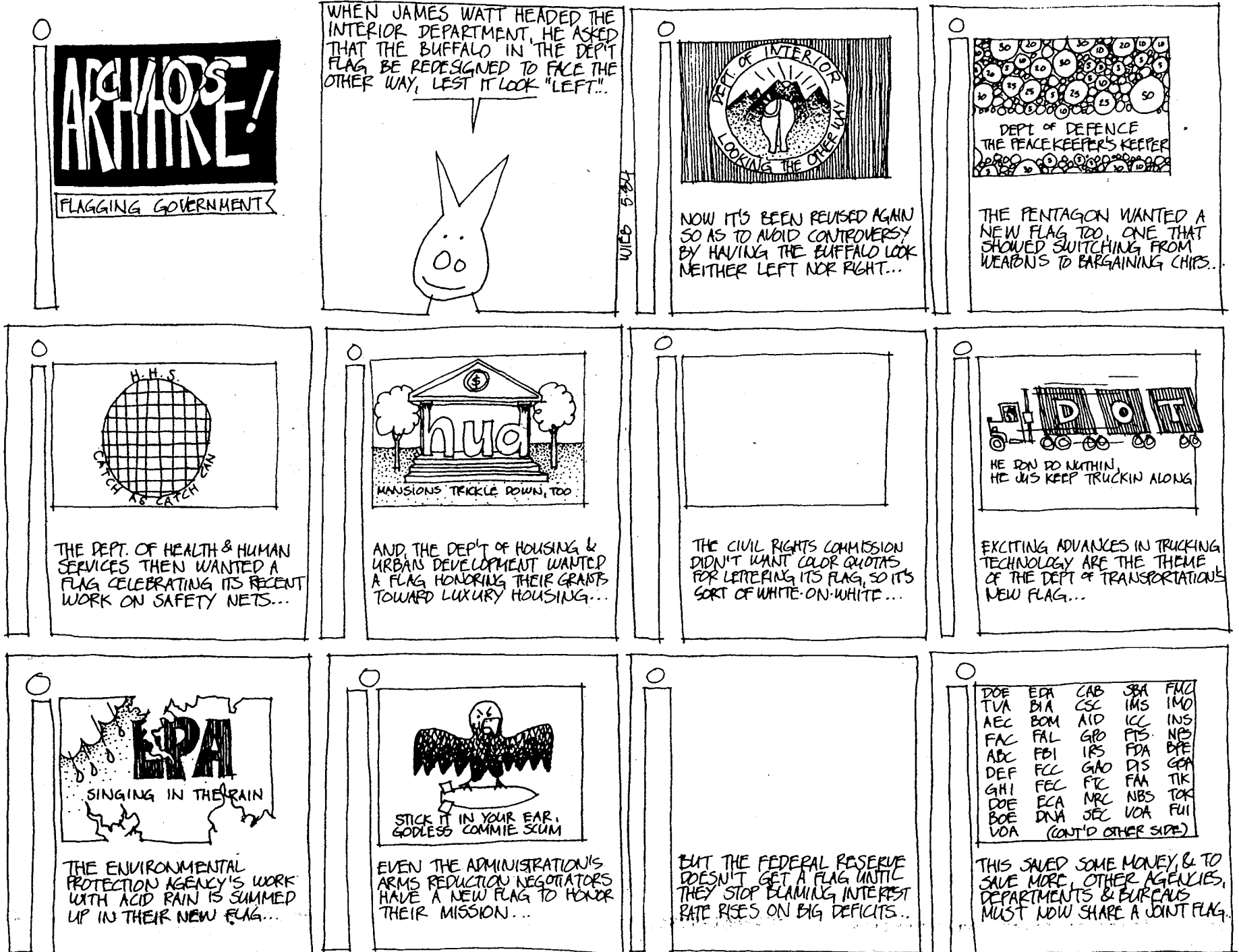
Although Bolognese officials understandably boast that Bo is today rated second in all of Italy in terms of quality of life, the city has, in fact, experienced shrinkage both in population and industrial jobs. The population is down to 450,000. In 1971 there were approximately 11,000 small industrial firms inside the city. Today there are 9557 industrial enterprises with an average workforce of 4.7 employees each. The city's four firms with between 1000 and 2000 employees have been reduced to three.

But that is not the story as the Bolognese see it. The important news

is that, contrary to national trends, there has been a positive growth of industrial development in Bologna province. Post-war Bolognese economic planners, from the beginning, eschewed the narrow and the parochial in favor of more even growth between the city and the undeveloped countryside where the largely agricultural population was disadvantaged in terms of living standard and purchasing power. Bologna, the city, is more than ever entwined with Bologna, the province. Within the province, made up of farmland and a number of small towns, there has been steady economic expansion. Such small towns, with their new industrial bases, and the excellent level of agricultural production dominated by cooperatives, are the great economic strength of Italy, according to Bo's officialdom. In the greater Bolognese metropolitan area, the population now stands at one million. Bologna province is, along with Reggio Emilia and Modena provinces, the richest in the whole region of Emilia-Romagna. Bo's planners ask that you compared this to the more typical capitalist center of Turin where there are now 180,000 unemployed and where the great automotive firm of Fiat today employs 24,000 fewer workers than in 1980.

The political left, which has





dominated Bo's city hall and council for the past 40 years, has deep roots in this region, which has long been called "Red Emilia." Almost 150 years ago, the landless agricultural workers in this part of Italy, whose labor built the vast drainage and irrigation systems of the rich Po valley, had begun to organize into leagues. Under the influence of anarchists and socialists, they struggled to improve their wretched wages and the misery of their long winter unemployment. Thus, in Italy, the historic pattern was an early revolutionary peasantry, which inspired the later industrial proletariat. "Red Emilia" elected Italy's first socialist member of parliament in 1892. But, as is their wont, the great landowners and new factory owners counterattacked. In time, the advancing agricultural cooperatives and industrial unions alike were crushed by the total victory of the fascist movement 30 years later. Two years before Mussolini marched on Rome, Bologna itself was occupied by Mussolini's followers after a bloody battle. In 1945, the Italian National Liberation Committee appointed a communist partisan to be mayor of Bologna. (The partisan groups had fiercely fought the German army, determined to liberate northern Italy before the Americans. In Sicily and southern Italy, the US

Army allied itself with, and then reestablished, the Mafia, which had been broken up by the fascist government).

Ever since, the Communist Party has kept its council majority and the position of mayor. Despite -- or perhaps because of -- its economic well being, all of the local regional governments maintain Communist or Socialist majorities. (Recall that Italy's CP, ideological founder of Euro-communism and very critical of the USSR, is the country's second largest party. The present head of state is socialist.).

A great sense of solidarity exists between the unions and the city government due to the repeated demonstrations of support which the council has shown on behalf of the workers in their disputes. One union response was to try to have written into their labor contracts the payment of employer contributions to new social services initiated by the council. One such was free public transportation during rush hours; another was a system of high quality nurseries for the infants and young children of working women. Eventually the unions lost this effort. After several years, the city council was forced to reinstate bus fares except for seniors, although fares are still remarkably cheap. The nurseries have prospered.

The municipality now also runs, supplementary to the national system, a parallel education system which specializes in artisan and trade programs.

Another example of the ties between city hall and the people of Bo is the council's support of the local women's movement which, after several years' effort, was barely maintaining itself. The council last year -- over the vehement protest of its Christian Democratic minority -- voted the women's center a beautiful suite of six rooms, rent free, in one of the city-owned palazzi. The women are establishing a library there, and hold exhibits and lecture. One meeting I attended had an overflow crowd of several hundred and I am told this is usual for their public meetings. In addition, the council this year funded a center budget of about \$50,000 and agreed that two teachers from the city's school system could, alternatively, work full-time at the center. Still, Bo has only 9 women out of 60 members of the council, only 4 of its 26 representatives to the national House of Delegates are women and it has no female senators.







**THE PLANETREE HEALTH RESOURCE CENTER**, 2040 Webster St., San Francisco, CA 94115, operates a 1500 volume medical library that is free and open to the public. for a \$5 fee, the staff will send you a copy of its file on a specified medical problem. A \$35 tax-deductible contribution will get you a personalized, in-depth research packet, including traditional and alternative material, a bibliography of pertinent books and addresses of support groups.

**COMPANY PROFILES:** Washington Service Bureau offers profiles on companies registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission. The profile includes a description of the business, financial statements and notes, management remuneration, principal shareholders, earnings per share, Form 10-K exhibit list, number of shares outstanding, company address and phone number. Each profile costs \$18.50 plus postage and sales tax. They promise to ship within 24 hours. Write WSB, 1225 Conn Ave. NW, DC 20036 or call 202-833-9200.

**NICARAGUAN PEACE SHIP:** Last month a 107' sailing vessel was due to depart St. Augustine with a cargo of 50 tons of medical supplies for Nicaragua. The vessel Fri is being co-funded by the National Council of Churches, the Asner Foundation, the Common Sense Foundation and the Synergy Foundation. Among the organizations providing supplies for the ship are the American Friends Service Committee, Oxfam America, Church World Service, the Central American Health Rights Network and the Moravian Church. Info: 904-824-4574.

**SOUTH AFRICA 1983: REORGANIZING APARTHEID:** The annual report of the South Africa Project of the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. This project has been providing legal assistance to South African civil rights struggles since 1967 and the report outlines what happened with its cases last year. From the committee at 1400 I St. NW (#400), DC 20005. Call 202-371-1212

**INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL ECOLOGY SUMMER PROGRAM:** Building Community is this year's theme of the program, to be held June 22-July 21 at the Mountain School in Berkshire, VT. Lecturers include Murray Bookchin, Grace Paley, Joel Kovel, Dave Dillinger and Daniel Berrigan. Areas of study include social theory, feminism and policy, ecological food production, alternative technology and holistic health. The entire cost of the program is \$975 with a sliding scale for those not able to pay the full amount. Information and application form from John Clark at 504-861-9284.

**SUMMER INSTITUTE IN ISRAEL:** A two week study seminar will take place

in Israel Aug 4-19, co-sponsored by the Mordechai Anielewicz Circle of Americas for Progressive Israel and Peace Now. This seminar, which has taken place three times previously, is designed for participants to meet Shalom Achshav activists, community organizers, trade unionists, members of Mapam and other opposition members of the Knesset. Fee for the program including airfare from NYC and return is \$1175. Write Friends of Peace Now, 111 West 40th Street, Suite 2600, NYC NY 10018.

**SANE GUIDE TO THE MILITARY BUDGET:** SANE has published a guide to the latest military budget that analyzes expenditures and suggests ways to  
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### Materials for Filing FOIA Requests

**The Freedom of Information Act: Why It's Important and How You Can Use It.** Maureen Weaver, Campaign for Political Rights.

**How to Use the Federal FOI Act,** Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press.

**Litigation Under the Federal Freedom of Information Act and Privacy Act,** edited by Morton Halperin and Allan Adler, Center for National Security Studies.

**Using the FOIA: A Step by Step Guide,** Center for National Security Studies.

*A number of organizations are working to preserve the Freedom of Information Act and can provide advice and materials about filing FOIA and PA requests.*

**Campaign for Political Rights**  
201 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E. #316  
Washington, DC 20002

**Center for National Security Studies**  
122 Maryland Avenue, NE  
Washington, DC 20002

**Freedom of Information Clearinghouse**  
c/o Public Citizen Litigation Group  
2000 P Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20036

**Fund for Open Information and Accountability, Inc.**  
339 Lafayette Street  
New York, NY 10012

**Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press**  
800 18th St. N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20036

-Organizing Notes



## Seminars at Pratt

**The Business Side of Art, Architecture & Interior Design**

Artist's Guide to the Business Side of Fine Art  
Sat. March 31, 10am-4pm, \$75  
Brochure & Direct Mail Marketing Techniques  
Sat. April 14, 10am-4pm, \$75

Market Your Photos  
Sat. May 5, 10am-4pm, \$75

Marketing Yourself as an Architect or Interior Designer  
2 Days—Fri. March 23, 10am-4pm, &  
Sat. March 24, 10am-1pm, \$125

Efficient Print Production for Non-Profit Organizations  
Sat. April 28, 10am-4pm, \$75

Graphic Designer's Production Seminar  
Fri. May 11, 9am-5pm, \$150  
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**INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CONVERSION  
CONFERENCE,** "Transforming the  
Economy for Jobs, Peace and  
Justice," June 22-24, Boston  
College, Chestnut Hill Mass.. Major

With substantial cuts in Reagan's bloated military  
spending request now inevitable, there is renewed interest  
in conversion legislation on Capitol Hill. Two bills have  
been introduced, providing different but complementary  
approaches toward protecting workers and communities  
in defense-dependent areas.

Representative Ted Weiss (D-NY), a SANE Board Mem-  
ber, reintroduced his Defense Economic Adjustment Act  
(H.R. 425) last year. The bill is a blueprint for a compre-  
hensive national conversion policy, providing federal assis-  
tance for planning and carrying out conversion on the local  
level. The extensive nature of the Weiss bill requires it to  
be considered by five committees before it can reach the  
full House, posing procedural obstacles.

A more limited approach is being taken by Represen-  
tative Nicholas Mavroules (D-MA), a key member in the  
fight against the MX. Mavroules' Economic Conversion Act  
(H.R. 4805) is designed to provide income assistance and  
job training grants to workers and communities affected  
by major contract terminations. According to Mavroules,  
the two bills represent a "dual, high-option, low-option  
track." Reps. Weiss and Mavroules will be working to-  
gether to raise the conversion issue in Congress this year.

speakers representing labor,  
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economic justice organizations from  
around the world. Sponsored by major  
peace, church and labor groups  
including SANE and the IAM.  
Info: Conversion Conference, 2161  
Mass. Avenue, Cambridge MA 02140.

**Popular Economics for Activists:** The  
Center for Popular Economics in  
Amherst, Massachusetts is offering  
a weeklong course in economics for  
activists. There will be two  
one-week sessions: July 28-Aug 4 and  
Aug 9-12. Topics to be covered  
include unemployment and inflation,  
the US and the Third World, the  
economics of racism and sexism, the  
impact of Reaganomics, military  
spending,, occupational safety and  
health, and energy and the  
environment. The cost for the seven  
day sessions, for room, board,  
tuition and the use of recreational  
facilities is \$250 for low-income or

unemployed people and \$350-450 for  
others. Scholarships are available  
on a limited basis. Info: Center for  
Popular Economics, PO Box 785,  
Amherst, Mass. 01004.

**SONIA JOHNSON FOR PRESIDENT:** The  
offices of Citizen Party candidate  
Sonia Johnson are located at 3318  
2nd St. South, Arlington, VA 22203.

**FACING THE DANGER:** A new book by Sam  
Totten and Martha Wescott Totten  
that is based on interviews with 20  
anti-nuclear activists. Included are  
Hellen Caldicott, William Sloane  
Coffin, Barry Commoner, Rear Admiral  
Gene La Rocque and others. Copies  
available for \$8.95 plus \$1 postage  
from the Crossing Press, Box 640,  
Trumansburg, NY 14886.

## Twinning

The following organizations can help communities in this country  
interested in "twinning" -- in developing "sibling city" relation-  
ships -- with cities in Europe and/or the Soviet Union. We urge  
you to consider all the alternatives before choosing any one since  
the methods and philosophies of these groups vary greatly.

- \* The Earthstewards Network, Box 399, Monte Rio CA 95462
- \* Sister Cities International, 1625 "T" St. NW, Washington DC 20006
- \* Ground Zero Pairing Project, PO Box 19049, Portland OR 07219
- \* The Fourth World, 24 Abercorn Place, London NW8, England
- \* United Towns Organizations, 2 Rue de Logelbach, Paris 75107 France

There are also a few official Soviet agencies that may be of help:

- \* Soviet - USA Society, Vladimir Kirilov, 14 Kalinin Prospect, CCCP
- \* Soviet Association for Relations Between Soviet and Foreign Cities,  
c/o the Soviet Embassy, 1125 16th St. NW, Washington, DC 20036
- \* Cultural Affairs Section, Soviet Embassy, 1125 16th St. NW,  
Washington, DC 20036.

As for independent peace groups within the Soviet Union, we are  
only aware of one -- "The Group for Establishing Trust Between the  
USA and the USSR" -- many of whose members are unfortunately  
either in exile, in prison, or in psychiatric hospitals against  
their will because of their activities. According to documents  
the group has made available, its aim is "to cultivate friendship  
between East and West". The group has appealed to both super-  
powers to halt all nuclear testing and to the Moscow City Council  
asking that it declare the city a Nuclear Free Zone. A branch of  
the group in Odessa (with over 1,000 members!) has called for the  
declaration of the Black Sea as a "sea of trust" and for the  
establishment of personal contacts between the people of Odessa  
and the West. It also proposes to make Odessa and Baltimore (its  
official twin city in the US since 1975) into Nuclear Free Zones!  
For more information on the independent peace movement in the  
Soviet Union and how to support its work, contact June Chenard, 26  
Shickluna, St. Catherines, Ontario, Canada, L2S 1L4.

-Nuclear Free America



# HOW TO REVIVE THE STATEHOOD PARTY

The DC Statehood Party, despite the recent boost given statehood by the introduction of Senator Kennedy's statehood bill, is languishing. This is not surprising; those of us who founded the party knew the history of third parties in this country. The odds are against them in the first place and if, as with the Statehood Party, their cause catches fire, it is only a matter of time before one of the major parties co-opts their main issue and their *raison d'être* starts to fade.

The Statehood Party has beaten the odds in a number of ways. It will be fifteen years old next year. It has actually elected people to public office for most of its existence. And, most importantly, the odd idea with which it started -- that DC should become a state, has been accepted by the electorate, the local politicians and, now, by even as important a national figure as Kennedy.

But for all its success, the party is in trouble. It is possible, for example, that if Hilda Mason, the party's sole elected official, were to retire, the party would veer towards losing ballot status. The party has not been functioning at anywhere near the level of its activities of earlier years.

One of the problems the Statehood Party has faced has been there from the start. Being a local party unaffiliated with any national organization, it can have little influence on national elections such as the recent Democratic primary. Because of city's election laws are strongly biased in favor of the Democrats and Republicans, the Statehood Party cannot engage in multiple slating as occurs in New York state. There the Liberal and Conservative parties maintain power because they have the option of putting Democratic or Republican candidates on their slates, thus giving those candidates two lines on the ballot. In short, to be a member of the Statehood Party one must not only give up participation in national electoral politics but also participation in the crucial Democratic primaries where the true elections of DC are held. These handicaps have led a number of early Statehooders, including myself, to return to the Democratic Party and have helped keep the registration figures of the Statehood Party extremely low.

With even Walter Fauntroy supporting statehood, with just about every major local politician treating it like motherhood, it is difficult for the Statehood Party to retain its independent position and purpose that has been its hallmark for so long. There is a high likelihood that if the party does not face up to

the change in the situation, it will just slowly fade away.

Lately, however, I have been thinking that there is an alternative. An alternative that would not require any substantive change in the political position of the party and yet could help breathe new life into it. Very simply, I would like to suggest that the party change its name.

Given the overwhelming acceptance of statehood locally, the name no longer defines what is different about the party. My suspicion is that almost any decent name would be better than continuing with the present one, but my nomination is for the name, DC Green Party.

By this simple act of changing the name, the party would become the first American Green Party with ballot status and elected officials. The party would become associated not with a local cause, however worthy, but with an international movement that is, perhaps, the most profound new influence on electoral politics in the western world. I suspect that the mere discovery that a Green Party representative sat on the city council of the capital of the United States would attract international curiosity and attention. It would give encouragement to other Green-oriented political activists around the country. And it would probably help the cause of statehood by linking it to other Green values.

I would not suggest this change if it were not for the fact that, from what I've been able to determine, the Green platforms are remarkably similar to those that have been put forth by the Statehood Party. In truth, the DC Statehood Party was probably the world's first Green Party. The Statehood Party has always been decentralist, anti-authoritarian, concerned about equity and fairness, anti-militaristic, democratic, and environmentally aware. To make the name change would be no mere gimmick; it would link reality to words.

Broadening the name to encompass the concepts that have always been important to the party but have been at least partially concealed by the parochial nature of its name, would help attract more local interest and involvement in the party.

Of course, the problem of anti-third party bias in the law would remain. I think, though, that there is a partial way around this, one I unsuccessfully urged years ago for the Statehood Party. There could be two classes of membership: regular and associate. The regulars would be the registered party members who



## STATEHOOD Cont'd

would get to vote in primaries. The associates would be Democrats (and maybe a few Republicans) who share the views of the party but for practical reasons prefer to remain in their own party. The associate members could be charged dues, allowed to vote for a portion of the party's board and be given a role in party decisions. The specifics would have to be worked out, experimented with and revised. But the principle is sound. Instead of having one small third party, you could have a major movement involving both the third party and an allied caucus within the Democratic Party. Whereas there are logical limits to the size of a Statehood or Green Party, a Green Caucus of the Democratic Party could, at the very least, strongly influence the majority party.

Of course, if the Statehooders don't want to form a Green Party here, it could be done as a new party instead. The beauty of the Statehood Party taking the opportunity is that it could both revitalize itself and raise the issues that it shares with the Green movement more effectively throughout the city.--S.S.



## News Briefs

**FIRST TRIAL BALLOON:** The Washingtonian reports that Vincent Reed, former school superintendent, is considering a run against Marion Barry for mayor in the 1986 election.

**AMBULATORY CARE FACILITY PLANNED:** Metropolitan Ambulatory Care Associates is planning to build an ambulatory care facility on upper George Avenue at the site of the old Handley Ford building. The building would have an urgent care center for minor emergencies, diagnostic support services and a doctor's office. It would also provide minor surgery at prices projected to be 30-50% cheaper than in a regular hospital. The facility would be open 24 hours a day.

**CAROL SCHWARTZ,** who was a very capable member of the school board, has announced for the at-large city

(Please turn to page 20)

## REPORT CARD

MASON	1	2	-3	13	B		
KANE		-2	-3	9	B		
WILSON		2	-3	8	B		
CLARKE	1	2	-3	-1	-3	C	
WINTER			-3	-5	D		
ROLARK	1	2	-3	-6	D		
-----COUNCIL AVERAGE-----							
SHACKLETON		-2	-3	-8	D		
SMITH		-2	-3	-8	D		
MOORE		-2	-3	-13	D		
RAY		-2	-3	-13	D		
CRAWFORD		-2	-3	-16	F		
SPAULDING		-2	-3	-16	F		
JARVIS		-2	-3	-20	F		
BARRY	-1	-1	-2	-3	-1	-25	F
VENDING	BOTTLE	EVCTIONS	CHANNEL	STATEHOOD	CHINA	TOTAL	GRADE
CHANGES	BILL		INN	ELECTIONS	TRIP		

Here's our monthly report card on the mayor and city council. Generally we give 2 points plus or minus for a vote or mayoral signing, 1 point plus or minus for a public position taken and 3 points on especially important issues. Here were the issues for this month:

**VENDING CHANGES:** The mayor has proposed regulations that would further restrict the operation of vendors in the city. For a guy who talks so much about economic development, he seems curiously indifferent to one of DC's few growing industries. He even wants to restrict the categories of goods sold and set design standards for all vending carts. This is a pure response to the larger commercial interests.

**BOTTLE BILL:** This measure would provide for a deposit on bottles, now an accepted practice in a number of states, but our mayor doesn't like it.

**EVICTIONS:** Clarke and Rolark get a point apiece for introducing legislation that would ease the eviction pressure by creating a plan for catchup payments of past due rent which tenants could use without being evicted.

**CHANNEL INN:** A bill to add another floor to the Channel Inn in Southwest, contrary to the urban renewal plan and the wishes of the neighborhood.

**STATEHOOD ELECTIONS:** Everyone loses three points for postponing the election of surrogate senators and a representative until 1986. DC may now have a set a record for a titular democracy cancelling elections (Remember they postponed the ANC elections as well?)

**CHINA TRIP:** It was all in the interest of the city, of course, that Marion Barry and Dave Clarke, along with other officials, took a trip to China heavily financed by business interests. But why can't the same argument be used for a junket to the Bahamas? We need trade with them, too. Very poor judgement.

# FEAR OF FILING

## Computer Anxiety

Another in a series of occasional pieces on the political and social implications of computers.

ROBERT Heinssen, a doctoral student at Catholic University, was taking a course on computers, when he noticed that some of his classmates seemed inordinately tense: "I was sitting there watching people looking as though the computer was going to jump out at them. And more important, they were consistently making careless mistakes."

Heinssen's curiosity about this reaction has led to a fullscale research project into computer anxiety and workshops to help people do something about it.

Heinssen and two CU Ph.D.s, Carol Glass and Scott Robertson, surveyed CU students -- both undergraduates and adults enrolled in continuing education, and found that computer anxiety was real and affected a large number of those sampled.

Thirty percent of the undergraduates, for example, responded affirmatively to the question: "Would you describe yourself as a person who is afraid of computers?" The adult response was roughly the same. Interestingly, there was not much statistical difference between the undergraduate and the adult

responses. There further appeared to be no correlation between computer anxiety and math anxiety, test anxiety or social anxiety. More women, however, expressed anxiety than did men. Forty-six percent of the women said they were afraid of computers compared with only 15% of the men, this despite the fact that the women sampled had somewhat more experience with computers than the men.

The researchers have yet to explain this difference, although it seems reasonable to speculate that men have traditionally have been trained to fix things, such as cars, more frequently than have women. Since computers have a tendency to require a certain amount of fiddling to get things to work the way you want, this difference in education may be significant. Says Heinssen, "One thing we suspect is that males have been brought up with a higher expectation of success in mastering mechanical tasks."

The researchers asked people using computers to provide "thought reports" on their feelings as they anticipate working with a computer. Some patterns have developed. People with low computer anxiety express thoughts like "Wow, this will be fun; I can't wait to get started" or "This is fascinating; I'm entering the world of the future" or "I'll make a game out of learning this and have some fun." Computer anxious people, on the other hand, react with thoughts like "What have I gotten myself into? Do I really want to get started on this sort of thing?" or "Help, I'll never be able to figure this out" or "This is a waste of time" or "What if I break this thing."

Interestingly, there has been little research done on how people react to working with computers. Computer manuals can be blithely indifferent to the fact that the user may not have the technical background of those working for the manufacturer. Some appear written by people who learned about computers at the expense of minimal familiarity with the English language. At the same time, children, students, office workers and executives are constantly being told,

(Please turn to page 25)

# CHUCK STONE

## Good Schools

**F**or the second time in nearly four decades, a black congressman has sponsored a legislative revolutionary ideal: The abilities of all children -- irrespective of race or class -- can and should be perfected.

First was February 1946. The House of Representatives debated the controversial "Powell amendment" (introduced by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell Jr., D-N.Y.) that barred federal funds for any racially segregated school lunch program.

On Feb. 2, 1984, Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins, D-Calif., subcommittee chairman of a House Education and Labor Committee, introduced the Effective Schools Development Act of 1984 to provide federal funds for educational excellence.

His bill (H.R. 4731) identifies five characteristics documented by several national research projects that were found in all "effective schools" -- strong administrative leadership, an orderly school climate, high expectation for student academic achievement, strong emphasis on acquisition of basic academic skills and regular student performance.

With these five characteristics, any school, anywhere can become a pedagogical citadel.

Thirty-eight years ago, few believed this capability was universal. How times have changed. When Powell introduced his amendment, he was one of only two black members of Congress and was widely con-

demned for demanding anti-discrimination as a condition precedent for school lunches.

Today, Hawkins, 76, the "dean" of 21 black members of Congress, has 67 co-sponsors for his Effective Schools Act.

One of Congress' most influential members, Hawkins called on his colleagues to "rise above the rhetorical nature of the education reform debate."

"Rhetorical nature" is a gentle-mannered euphemism for the past two decades of political hysteria that indicted public schools as dumping grounds.

It began with University of California psychologist Arthur Jensen contending that schools could not compensate for the suspected genetic inferiority of black kids.

Almost simultaneously, University of Chicago psychologist James S. Coleman concluded after an exhaustive analysis of data that schools could not overcome deficiencies in low socio-economic status.

The Coleman thesis subsequently was confirmed by Harvard researcher Christopher Jencks in his book, "Inequality," which paraded pages of massive statistics, thereby verifying Antonio's lament that even "the devil can cite Scripture for his purpose."

But this time, the devil had a supporting cast.

Accompanied by plummeting SAT scores, declining mathematic and reading skills, dangerous school environments, avaricious teachers' unions, marginal teacher competence and inept administrators, a national crisis of confidence in public education burgeoned.

Last year, a pessimistic report by President Reagan's National Commission on Excellence in Education warned of a "rising tide of mediocrity" in American education.

Unbeknownst to the White House's cognitively sloppy occupant, "effective schools" already had started mushrooming faster than spring crocuses.

Urban school systems were instituting "back-to-basics" reforms that were slowly translating into accelerated reading scores.

Reacting to this productivity, the New York Times' impressive April 15 educational

(Please turn to page 25)



# Space: The Final Battleground

by Shelley Anderson

The battle has begun on Capitol Hill to quash President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, almost on the anniversary of his March 23, 1983, speech advocating space-based weapons systems. At a press conference in late March Rep. George Brown (D-CA) announced formation of the Coalition for the Peaceful Uses of Space to "send a message to the President, to the Congress, and to the public that 'Star Wars' should stay in the movie theaters and out of the White House."

"The public is being presented with the dangerous illusion that the escalation of the arms race into space can solve our problems here on earth," Brown said. Other Representatives and members of various public interest groups at the conference also criticized space weapons as prohibitively expensive, scientifically impossible and ultimately destabilizing.

Rep. Brown said the Coalition has three goals: passage of a U.S.-U.S.S.R. moratorium on the testing of anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons and an eventual ban on ASATs; a funding cap on Department of Defense (DOD) space-based programs (the fiscal year 1985 budget includes \$2 billion for joint DOD and Department of Energy research in this); and a renewed U.S. commitment to the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

The Reagan administration has proposed a five-year, \$25 billion research program on the use of, among others, of lasers and particle-beam weapons. Dr. Jeremy Stone of the Federation of American Scientists (FAS) said this figure did not include all directed energy weapon and missile defense programs, which FAS estimates would exceed \$45 billion. Other

conference participants estimated the total program could cost between \$500 billion and \$1 trillion.

Dr. Stone called administration sup-

Pentagon officials have been involved in the militarization of space years before President Reagan's "Star Wars" idea. In 1980 alone some \$100 million was spent on beam weapons research. A 1973 experiment with lasers as weapons succeeded in shooting down two unmanned planes at the Sandia Optical Range on Kirkland Air Force Base in New Mexico.

The basic idea behind the Strategic Defense Initiative is simple. Orbiting satellites would detect and destroy enemy ICBMs before the missiles could reach their targets in the U.S. The non-nuclear nature of the space weapons is stressed by supporters: President Reagan claims ballistic missile defense (BMD) will render nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete."

Yet at least one potential star wars weapon system would be triggered by nuclear explosions. Experiments under the name Excaliber are being conducted at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory on X-ray lasers. X-ray energy beams created by small nuclear explosions would be funneled through long satellite rods. Sensors would detect the heat exhaust from ICBM boosters and direct the X-rays, which would blast the missiles. Other research is being conducted into chemical-generated lasers.

The problems in focusing such beams are immense, as the earth's magnetic field bends the beam and rays become diffused traveling through the atmosphere.

Another BMD proposal would station a series of gigantic mirrors in space, or have

porters of the program "sycophants" who flatter the president while not believing the program would work.

"They say the president's speech was 'vi-

such mirrors ready to launch, in order to target lasers created on the ground. Ground-based laser stations would be scattered throughout the U.S., to be bounced off the mirrors onto enemy ICBMs. No mirror has yet been built in the size necessary for this plan. As with all the other proposals, accuracy would have to be 100 percent so no missiles could get through — and so the mirrors themselves would not be destroyed by lasers.

The High Frontier Foundation, headed by retired Lt. Gen. Daniel Graham, is pushing a three-tier weapons system. Enemy ICBMs would first face 432 orbiting battle stations, each with 40 to 50 non-nuclear kill devices that would destroy ICBMs by crashing into them. The second tier would consist of a laser or partial beam defense. The third tier would be ground-based — anti-ballistic missiles that would protect U.S. missile silos or other military installations. No provisions are made to protect possible civilian targets.

Again, absolute accuracy would be essential so no warheads would get through. However, Lt. Gen. (ret.) Graham may think a few megatons here or there would not matter. In a recent documentary he commented, "If we knew that a bomb was going to go off over this building in an hour, I would survive. I would walk five miles in an hour... If we had enough brains to walk for a hour and get behind a lilac bush, we won't be hurt by that nuclear weapon."

sionary,' so they run around the Pentagon now talking about this 'vision' and that 'vision.' It sounds like they're giving out LSD," Stone said.

On April 5 the Union of Concerned Scientists sponsored an 11-city teleconference on weapons in space. Panelists Carl Sagan, Richard Garwin and Noel Gayler criticized the total ballistic missile defense proposal as provocative and dangerous.

"There is nothing we can think up that we can't also think up countermeasures for," Dr. Garwin, a government consultant and nuclear weapons specialist, said. "And if we can think them up, the Russians can too." Space mines, missile decoys, protective shielding that would absorb laser rays or reflective shielding that would deflect rays are all obvious countermeasures, he said.

All the proposed systems would require tremendous sources of energy and so be very expensive, according to Garwin. Accuracy would be vital, yet the weapons could not be tested adequately until an actual battle.

Retired Admiral Gayler, former director of the National Security Agency, agreed. "We'd be shooting ourselves in the foot. This thing won't work. The technology's improbable, it'd take the whole gross national product and success would be zero," he said.

"The Russians would simply increase their cruise missile and bomber capability — which this star wars idea does not protect against. Nuclear war can't be solved by science itself. The solutions will come through people, not gadgetry. We have to prevent nuclear war, not plan for it," Gayler said.

Northern Sun News

## CHARLES MCDOWELL

### Burning Wood

WASHINGTON — Here were all these experts on the environment, talking about things like "the synergistic character of natural resource systems." It was summary time at the World Resources Institute's international conference last week, and my mind was too depleted to keep up.

All I could do was make notes of the topics. The experts had been discussing the problems of pollution from industrial smokestacks. Now they were talking about humble wood fires in the villages of poor countries.

Suddenly a professor from Pennsylvania State University said something in plain words and a reassuringly rural accent.

"The interesting point about wood burning," he said, "is that it's much more polluting and dangerous to health than industrial smokestacks."

"Often wood-burning stoves aren't very efficient, and the chimneys aren't high enough to carry the smoke much above people's heads."

"We hear a lot about the fog of

smoke over villages in the Third World. Well, I want to tell you it's the same in State College, Pennsylvania, and Dartmouth in New Hampshire."

Delighted at having found an irony within my range of comprehension, I smiled and wrote fast. The chairman of the conference, Martin Holdgate, chief scientist of Britain's Department of Environment, also was taken with the observation.

He replied to Professor William Vogely in the dry, British manner: "Indeed, people seem to think wood is natural and therefore its smoke is healthy."

The professor nodded and said, "You know, the law forbids us to burn leaves. But stoking a wood stove is somehow thought of as a wholesome activity by people who ought to know better."

★ ★ ★

We all are aware of these people. Some of us are these people. We go camping and build fires and breathe noxious smoke while our eyes water,

and we feel as one with nature. We feel noble as we choke.

In recent years we have created a remarkable boom in wood-burning stoves. Some of the most earnest discussions of the world's environmental problems take place among decently zealous people sitting around wood stoves.

A trendy wood burner might well conceive that he or she is conserving energy, resisting the need for nuclear power and saving some natural place from strip mining. But mainly there is a sense around wood stoves that we are coming to terms with reality in an admirable way.

Given the environmental awareness and high intellectual level of college towns, we have to be impressed by the professor's report that the pall of smoke over a college can be comparable to that over a Third World village.

After the conference, I telephoned Professor Vogely at Penn State, and he talked about the sooty particulates, fumes and chemical pollutants emitted by burning wood. Wood stoves, he said, lately had been blamed for "winter smog" over some communities in this country. He mentioned that Boulder, Colo., and Hanover, N.H., for instance, recently had passed ordinances to control the problem.

The professor also mentioned, it should be said, that all wood stoves are not as inefficient as many wood

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# QUIET IN THE GENDER GAP

James Ridgeway

WASHINGTON -- All the polls show the "gender gap" will work to favor the Democratic ticket, and that a woman vice presidential candidate would help the ticket even more. Yet women's groups have been surprisingly quiet around the Democratic presidential primary campaign.

Indeed, gender gap politics has been all but eclipsed by the resurgence of black politics in that campaign. Ironically, Jesse Jackson is the one candidate to argue vigorously for women in politics, and every time he urges a woman vice presidential candidate, the crowds jump to their feet cheering.

But women's groups are wary of Jackson. They think his recent acceptance of abortion is opportunistic, and could change overnight. And the largest such group, the National Organization of Women, fell in behind Mondale early on and has been absorbed into his campaign.

Last year, there was a flurry of interest among women's groups in running a presidential candidate, but that came to nothing. Then Bella Abzug urged the groups to get behind a woman for vice president. That idea, too, went nowhere.

"No woman would declare herself as a vice presidential candidate," said Geraldine Ferraro, the Queens, NY congresswoman who is most often mentioned for such a post. "No one has ever run for the vice presidency. We women are not dumb politically."

This sentiment is echoed by Patricia Schroeder, the Denver congresswoman who is vice chair of Gary Hart's campaign and frequently mentioned as a possible running mate with Mondale.

"As a feminist, I have a lot of trouble with saying what we really want is a second job. It seems to me that we should run for president." And she points to the stunning success of Jesse Jackson with black voters.

David Garth calls the movement's failure to run a woman for president "one of the great stupidities of this year." Garth, the media consultant in Mondale's New York primary campaign, explains, "If a woman had run, there would not be any doubt at this moment that there would be a woman candidate for vice president. She would have had six months of national exposure, knowledge of the issues, and it wouldn't appear to be a token throw. It was a very bad mistake."

But Stephanie Solien, executive director for the Washington-based Women's Campaign Fund feels that would be moving too fast.

"One of the focuses we have had is to bring more women to all levels of elective office," she says. "We aren't going to see more women running for president or vice president until we have more women in positions of power in the Senate, as governors and in cabinet level positions. Those are the natural stepping stones for qualified women."

Moreover, adds Solien, while women are talking a lot about backing a woman vice president, "the women being considered for

vice president are cautious, and they don't want to cause problems for the Democratic party."

And the political realities which usually figure in the choice of a vice president work against women, according to Pat Reuss, legislative director of the Women's Equity Action League. "The trouble is that there are not enough of us to fit all classifications as far as religion, parts of the country, expertise, etc. goes. Also, vice presidents are usually governors or senators, and there are so few of those, but maybe this will be the year when the party moves away from that old criterion."

Reuss is unwilling to say outright that a woman candidate would help the ticket. "There is still a lot of sexism in the nation. People say they will vote for a woman, but when you break it down, there are factors voters take into account with a woman candidate that they would not with a man."

In fact -- despite the polls, despite the cheers for Jackson when he suggests a woman veep -- the prospects of any such action are dim.

"It's not going to happen," says Gloria Steinem, "because the party people, more than the candidates, see women as captive voters," with no real choice in the fall.

She, too, points to traditional uses of the second spot on the ticket. "They think the vice presidency should be used to move toward the middle or the right. I've never thought that imitating your adversaries was a great way to defeat them. But that's the traditional way of thinking."

The fact remains that though major women's organizations and their leaders offer rhetorical support to the idea of running a woman as vice president, they are not doing much about it.

"It drives me crazy," says Dotty Lynch, Gary Hart's pollster and one of the most respected women in politics. "All they do is keep wringing their hands and saying, 'Look, what if we lost?'"

Indeed, women politicians have spent much of their time fighting over the men. In New York, NOW "was handing out all this stuff, just trashing Hart," says Congresswoman Schroeder. "You'd have thought Hart was Jesse Helms. How his hair was combed. You wouldn't have believed it. It was like a junior high slam book."

Women are turning their efforts to voter registration -- a coalition of groups has pledged to sign up 1.5 million new women voters. And a handful of women are running for the Senate, notably in Minnesota, Oregon, Colorado, New Mexico and Maine, as well as in a number of spirited contests in the House.

As for the argument about whether or not a woman vice president makes political sense, Gloria Steinem says she thinks that argument only leads to a focus which is false for women -- an elaboration of the question of whether Hart or Mondale can do a better job against Reagan.

"Neither of them can beat Reagan," she says. "Only we can beat Reagan. Only the movement, saying in and of ourselves, we're going to get out our vote. We're not going to wait passively for the candidate to do well or poorly on television. We're going to do it. That's the only way we're going to win."

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# EUGENE MCCARTHY

## Voices from the dash

Cultural historians write of the love affair of Americans with the automobile. I am an exception. I may have had a minor thing going with the first car I owned, a '35 Chevrolet two-door, (it was called a coach, a designation transferred from a buggy design that was roughly comparable).

I bought the car second hand in 1937 and kept it until 1949, when having been elected to the House of Representatives, I reluctantly abandoned it as not quite up to the trip to Washington, and possibly, in the exuberance of having just been elected to national public office, as unbecoming to my new dignity.

FROM THAT year on whatever affection I had built up for the automobile gradually faded — for Fords, Chryslers, various General Motors cars, and two American Motors products — all American built.

I tried all sizes and shapes, two-door, four-door, station wagon, etc. Totem animal names I tested, the Impala, the Skylark and others, and other names which are supposed to indicate the character of the machine as well as of the driver, Imperials, Ambassadors, Furies, Citations, Electras and so on.

Despite disappointments, and dangers, I stuck with American made cars. I received warnings, that under some conditions, the spring on the starter of the car I owned might break, leaving the car at full throttle. The warning came a week after that very thing had happened, as I was driving home from church. I received notices of possible defective brakes, and steering assemblies, and new and more comprehensive warranties, which always seemed to have expired just before the warranted parts broke down or malfunctioned.

FINALLY, this year, anticipating the purchase of a new car, I decided to go foreign.

I was moved in part to this decision by a notice my daughter had received advising her that the American car she had been driving had a weakness in its rear axle, which condition might lead to the loss of a rear wheel. The manufacturer assured her that if this happened, only minor body damage would result. She wrote asking whether the damage would be to her body or to the car's body. She received no reply.

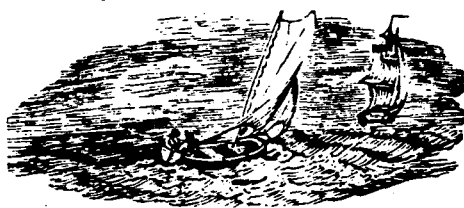
Before moving into the foreign field, I consulted persons who read the automobile magazines, the automotive pages of the daily press, and some who owned foreign cars, Swedish Volvos, German Volkswagens and BMW's. (The Mercedes was beyond me), and the owners of Japanese made cars. Weighing all of this advice, I decided to make my first move among the Japanese models.

SINCE I was testing, I decided to start at the top of the line, or near it, and work down. The salesman, knowing my hesitation about buying a foreign car, told me not to make a rash or hurried judgement, but to drive the test car for several days.

I was taken aback at my first look at the dash board. The number of indicators, buttons, flashing lights, and other devices which I could not identify

## TOPICS

Sam Smith



I heard it claimed on a local tv news show that the Beatles made the first video. For what it's worth, I recall going into a bar in Brittany in the summer of '57 where you could put money in a jukebox-type machine and see a movie video. I sometimes wondered why the idea never caught on this side of the Atlantic. Now I've stopped wondering.



While on this reminiscence kick, I might as well tell you about what happened when Bristol RI bought its new cherry picker fire engine some twenty years ago. The reason I might as well tell you is that in this month's DC section there is news that the city has bought a new fire truck that can reach as high as 12 or 14 stories. This is only the second such vehicle in the country. The first was bought by Galveston, Tex.

That's what happened in Bristol, too. That delightful town of 5000, home port of a Coast Guard cutter on which I served, bought the second cherry picker in the country — right after Chicago. What had happened was that a five story building had burned down with loss of life and the town politicians were anxious that it not happen again, even if that was the only five story building in the place. Come early spring the cherry picker was displayed proudly on the town

green. The truck actually stayed some time longer on the town green than had been intended. It was mud season and the new monster such settled right into the turf and refused to budge. It was finally hauled out and then driven proudly to the local fire station. The only trouble was it wouldn't fit. So the town finally had to work out a deal with the local commercial trash hauler who had a big garage. The only trouble was that the trashman insisted on the cherry picker being parked behind his truck. Further, he insisted that he keep the keys. So whenever the town needed its cherry picker it had to find the trash hauler, get the keys, move the truck and then race to the emergency. Fortunately, like I say, there were no more tall buildings in town and during my stay the cherry picker was largely used for festivities like the 4th of July parade, for which there was plenty of time to prepare.



Something like a triple negative crept into last month's Topics, leaving the author confused if not the reader. What I meant to say was that "If Martin Luther King had not believed that the heart of white American could be changed, he would not have marched." The extra negative reversed the meaning. I think.

## McCARTHY Cont'd

was intimidating. The board looked like the control panel on a super-sonic airplane. The seat was close fitting. My knees touched the steering wheel. I sympathized with astronauts like John Glen, who circled the earth for days in a crouched position, and also with the monkey, of one of the first missions, who was discredited for having "tampered," or better, "monkeyed," with the controls.

I was able to start the car, and get safely out of the garage. Then strange things began to happen. I noticed a shadow in the rear window. The trunk cover had risen. Evidently I had touched a release button. I stopped the car and with relief, closed the door by hand. Next a panel in the roof opened, I thought, mys-

teriously. I thought that it may have been in response to the full moon which had just broken out of the early evening clouds.

AGAIN I stopped the car and found a control which closed the panel. Being careful not to touch, or even come close to any button or lever, I eventually reached my home parking place. I turned off the motor switch, almost immediately a voice came on telling me "The key is in the switch."

I looked into the back seat to see whether or not I had a passenger. There was no one. Again the voice told me I had left the key in the switch. I removed it immediately, only to have the same voice tell me

that I had left my lights on. I turned them off and somewhat unnerved locked and left the car for the night. I wondered what other messages, warnings, advisory notices, possibly commands, the car might give me. Would it say, "Pull over to the curb?" Could there be hidden somewhere in this electronic gear, a kamikaze warning, not to pull up, or possibly even a directive to worship the emperor? It was too much.

I returned the car to the salesroom the next morning and fled, fearing that it might cry out after me, calling me "timid," possibly even "cowardly."

I am going to look at a Chevrolet in the hope that I can regain the confidence of man's mastery over the machine that I had when I owned and drove the 1935 model.

## KEEPING IDEAS OUT

### McCarran-Walter: The Immigration and Nationalization Act of 1952

It was the prerogative of Congress in 1952, when it passed the Immigration and Nationalization Act (INA), to limit the flow of undesirable foreigners into the United States. Fear of Communists, anarchists and a variety of other perceived anti-American outsiders, at an all-time high since the passage of the Alien and Sedition Act in 1798, was addressed specifically in three sections of the Act.

Consular officials are directed to deny visas to those whose activities would be "prejudicial to the public interest" or "subversive to national security" [Sections 1182 (a) (27) and 1182 (a) (29) respectively.]

A third provision, contained in Sec. 1182 (a) (28) of the Act excludes aliens who are, or have been, members of communist or anarchist organizations. It also excludes those who are not members but who merely "write, publish...circulate, display or distribute...any written or printed matter advocating or teaching opposition to all organized government..." or "advocating and teaching the economic, international and government of world communism."

### Free Movement of Information and Ideas Across American Borders

Since Truman, over whose veto the Act was passed, a succession of Administrations relied on these provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act to deny visas to people determined or perceived to be a threat to the security of the nation. Among the many thinkers and writers denied entry under provisions of the Act are Nobel-prize winning authors Gabriel Garcia Marquez and Czeslaw Milosz, Mexican novelist Carlos Fuentes, Argentinian author Julio Cortazar, Italian playwright Dario Fo and French author Regis Debray.

### What is the Problem?

First, the right "to seek, receive and impart information through any media and regardless of frontiers" is a fundamental freedom proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which the United States pledged to respect and observe.

Second, the U.S. is also a signator to the 1975 Helsinki Final Act of Security and Cooperation in Europe, which calls upon each of the participating nations to "gradually simplify...and administer flexibly the procedures for exit and entry" and "to ease regulations concerning movement of citizens from other participating States in their territory..."

In the context of bringing American law into accord with provisions of the Helsinki Act — through which signators committed themselves to the freedom of movement of people and ideas across borders — the McGovern Amendment of 1979 was passed to control government abuse of Sec. 28.

The McGovern Amendment requires the Secretary of State to routinely recommend waivers for people excluded under Sec. 28 because of political associations. Exceptions included cases where espionage, sabotage or terrorist behavior is thought to be a likely consequence of admission.

The McGovern Amendment put a severe cramp in the Administration's practice of closing U.S. borders for foreign policy related reasons. As a result, the Reagan Administration shifted its ideological exclusion defense to Sec. 27, and now regularly denies visas on the basis of anticipated activities that it deems are "prejudicial to the public interest."

It is a dubious reliance, at best, and one that is now the subject of three ACLU cases filed on December 15, 1983.

As demonstrated by the increased reliance on Sec. 27 in the growing pile of recent visa denials — to Nicaraguan Interior Minister Tomas Borge and Roberto d'Aubuisson, President of the Constituent Assembly and leader of El Salvador's right-wing Arena party, and many others including Hortensia de Allende, the widow of slain former Chilean President Salvador Allende Gossens; Nino Pasti, retired Italian General and member of the Italian Senate, an outspoken critic of the NATO INF deployment invited to speak at a Boston rally protesting American foreign policy; Ruben Zamora, a Salvadoran FMLN leader invited to address two forums on Latin America; Olga Finlay and Leonor Rodriguez Lezcano, two Cuban women invited by 11 universities and the New York City Commission on the Status of Women to speak on the role of women in Cuba — the Administration can no longer depend on Sec. 28 to keep foreigners out unless it can substantiate proof of an actual threat to security of the nation. The attempt to base ideological exclusions on the tenuous provisions of Sec. 27, however, raises serious questions about the intent of Congress when it passed the 1952 Act.

The ACLU position is that Sec. 27 was not intended to apply to speech, only to actions of persons that endangered the actual and physical security of the United States.

In the last session of Congress, the Administration sought to revise the key section of the McGovern Amendment, and recover what had been license under Sec. 28 to exercise a freer hand in excluding people on foreign policy grounds. Sen. Alan K. Simpson (R-WY) was asked by the Administration to introduce language that would broaden its exclusionary powers under the McGovern amendment as a rider to the State Department's 1984 budget authorization bill. Simpson declined.

—Organizing Notes



# WHAT REALLY CAUSED THE DEFICIT?

No budget issue has been the subject of so many discussions, debates and articles as has the federal deficit, currently over \$180 billion and likely to be as high, or higher, in the coming fiscal years. Deficits of such size are unprecedented. In all the years prior to 1982, the largest federal budget deficit was \$66 billion, which occurred during the recession of 1975.

To get a clear understanding of the deficits' root causes, their significance for ongoing congressional budget deliberations and, more broadly, their impact on the overall economy, one should review the budget and legislative events of the last four years.

When President Carter submitted his budget for FY 1981, the financial markets, his political opponents and many others claimed that the proposed \$28 billion deficit was not only excessive, but also economically unsound. Now, President Reagan's proposed FY 1985 budget projects a deficit of \$180-\$195 billion, depending on which federal activities are taken into account. What has brought about the gigantic increase?

Because budget deficits represent the difference between revenues and spending, it is instructive to look at both sides of the budget and to note what has changed. The figures are set forth in the brief table below, which takes into account the effect on revenues of the tax cuts enacted during the period. The table also shows, on the spending side, the net result of the sharp increases in defense, interest payments and several other programs, as well as the severe slashes in many domestic social and welfare programs.

REVENUES, OUTLAYS, DEFICITS			
	FY 1981 (actual)	FY 1985 (proposed)	Change
		(in billions)	
Revenues	\$599	\$733	+\$134
Outlays	\$657	\$928	+\$271
Deficit	\$ 58	\$195	+\$137

Source: House Budget Committee (February 1984)

The effect of the current massive deficits on inflation, interest rates and other economic developments has been hotly debated. It is obvious that the current and projected deficits in the \$200 billion range are having a profound effect on Congress, as it considers which programs to continue and at what funding levels. The recent congressional response to advocates for adequate funding for low income and other human need programs is that the huge deficit blocks any opportunity for additional spending. Some legislators believe, in fact, that further cutbacks, however painful, should be made to reduce the deficit.

### Effect of 1981 Tax Cut

The most significant contribution, by far, to the explosive growth of the federal deficit has been the tremendous loss in Treasury receipts from the 1981 tax legislation. (Congress recouped only a small part of the loss in 1982.) For the four fiscal years 1982 through 1985, the legislation will reduce taxes paid by individuals and corporations by a whopping \$310 billion—reductions which heavily benefit wealthy persons and large, prosperous corporations. For FY '85 alone, Treasury revenues will decrease by an estimated \$116 billion because of the tax law changes. In other words, more than half of the coming year's deficit will flow directly from the excessive, inequitable tax cuts of 1981 and 1982.

Next in importance as causes of the skyrocketing deficits are the major increases in spending for defense and for interest payments on the federal debt. These increases account for close to another 25% of the deficit.

Specifically, for FY '85, the President has proposed a \$35 billion increase in defense spending. Outlays would rise to \$272 billion, 70% higher than the 1981 spending level of \$110 billion. Interest payments, which reflect the sharp growth in federal debt created by the large deficits of the past three years (\$490 billion), combined with higher interest rates, will increase by \$8 billion from FY '84 to FY '85.

Revenue losses from tax cuts, higher military spending and higher interest payments will therefore amount to \$159 billion, 82% of the \$195 billion FY '85 deficit.

Unemployment is another factor which has had a significant influence on the steep expansion of deficits; and the recession of 1982-83, which added four million persons to the unemployment rolls, contributed greatly to the deficit. When people are jobless, the government pays out billions of dollars in unemployment insurance, food stamps and other recession-related benefits. At the same time, unemployed workers are not paying taxes, buying goods and services or otherwise contributing to economic activity which produces revenues for the Treasury. Careful analysis by government statisticians shows that for each 1% of unemployment—approximately one million persons—the federal government must spend about \$7 billion in various programs, while Treasury receipts will fall by \$22-\$23 billion. The higher outlays and lower revenues thus amount to losses of \$30 billion.

### Domestic Cuts Have Reduced Deficits

As these facts and figures demonstrate so clearly, spending for domestic non-defense programs has not been responsible for the deficit explosion. In fact, just the opposite is the case. Under this Administration's leadership and pressure, Congress in the past three years has slashed an estimated \$75 billion from various social, economic and welfare programs—and these budget cuts have obviously reduced the deficit.

Most of the leading economists outside the government, and many within federal agencies, agree with this explanation. While the President and some of his political supporters still repeat the charge that extravagant spending on domestic programs is the main culprit, Martin Feldstein, chief of the President's own Council of Economic Advisors, rejects that view. Appearing before the House Budget Committee last October, Feldstein stated: "The things that raise the deficit are defense spending, interest on the national debt and the tax reduction. The thing that has reduced the deficit has been the decline in domestic spending, excluding Social Security."

Yet despite the evidence, it is apparent that the Administration and many members of Congress are using the deficit to forestall any new spending initiatives for low income and other domestic programs. In some cases, they are even seeking additional cuts.

### Entitlements Unfairly Blamed

Some of them are also laying the blame on large entitlement programs, a view that has little basis in reality. For example, Social Security is now soundly financed as a result of the recent legislative revisions in the program. For years, receipts of this trust fund have

been greater than expenditures, resulting in surpluses which actually reduce the overall budget deficit. This occurs because the trust fund finances are integrated with all other federal spending in the federal budget.

In FY '85, the Social Security trust fund will receive \$201 billion in payroll taxes, while paying out retirement and disability benefits of \$193 billion. This will leave a surplus of \$8 billion, which will reduce the budget deficit by that amount. It would be grossly unfair to attempt to reduce the deficit by lowering Social Security benefits while keeping payroll taxes at current levels, as some have suggested. In effect, such a step would divert Social Security revenues to pay for other federal programs, under the pretext of budget reductions.

While it is true that Medicare outlays are rising steeply and that new financing and/or benefit arrangements will be needed in the near future to keep that program in balance, the fund still shows an estimated \$2 billion surplus for FY '85.

Like Social Security, therefore, the Medicare trust fund actually reduces the budget deficit for the next fiscal year.

It is now widely recognized that spending cuts in the discretionary programs (those whose funding levels are determined by annual congressional appropriations) could not possibly lower the deficit by any significant amount. Even if all the discretionary programs were completely eliminated, a huge budget deficit would still remain.

### Economic Recovery No Cure-All

Continued economic recovery will not lead to a "natural" shrinking of the anticipated FY '85 deficit of nearly \$200 billion. This is sharply different from the experience in the past, when economic recovery brought large increases in Treasury revenues, and the deficits of the recession were significantly reduced.

What will account for the continued large and even growing deficits in the face of expected economic growth?

Again, the main factor is the change in tax laws, which not only severely cut Treasury revenues, but also reduced the progressivity of the tax structure.

As a result of the 1981 and 1982 tax legislation, steadily larger amounts of taxes will not be paid. For FY '86, the total will be \$150 billion, and the upward trend will continue in the years thereafter. Moreover, Congress has eliminated much of the tax structure's responsiveness to recovery. An expanding economy will generate less in additional tax revenues than it did prior to 1981.

If the revenue losses resulting from the Administration's plans for higher military spending are combined with the greater interest payments required to finance the nation's debt—which grows with each year's deficit—we have the components for even higher deficits for the rest of the 1980s.

From 'The Monitor' of the Center for Community Change

Year	Deficit	Military Outlays
1947	\$ 3.9 (Surplus)	\$ 14.4
1950	3.1	13.0
1953 (Korean War)	6.5	51.8
1960	.3 (Surplus)	45.2
1969 (Vietnam War peak)	3.2 (Surplus)	82.5
1970	2.8	81.7
1980	59.6	134.0
1981	57.9	157.5
1982	110.6	185.3
1983	195.4	209.9
1984 (est)	183.7	237.5
1985 (est)	180.4	272.0

Since 1980, and using estimated figures for 1985, military outlays will have increased from \$134 billion to \$272 billion -- a whopping 103%. This chart shows the rapid increases in military spending in recent years and the parallel growth in the federal deficit.



# JACKSON'S USEFUL ALLY

**James Ridgeway**

NEW YORK -- A major force behind Jesse Jackson's extraordinary campaign for the presidency is an unsung community organization called ACORN. With headquarters in New Orleans and roots deep in the populist tradition, ACORN's black, white and Hispanic members across much of the nation represent the real rainbow in Jesse Jackson's coalition.

ACORN organizers ran Jackson's campaign in New Hampshire, fought Mayor Coleman Young's Detroit machine -- which supported Mondale -- to a standstill, and helped Jackson get more than one third of the total Democratic vote in Arkansas where ACORN began.

In Bridgeport, Connecticut's largest city, Jackson polled second to Hart, ahead of Mondale, thanks to ACORN. In the state as a whole, with a seven percent black population, Jackson took 12 percent of the vote.

In Pittsburgh, ACORN members are manning phone banks for Jackson, hauling people to welfare offices so they can register -- and preparing sit-ins if this effort is blocked. In Texas, Missouri and Louisiana, ACORN groups are getting ready for the Jackson campaign.

ACORN -- Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now -- is a neighborhood-based membership organization for low and moderate income people formed

in 1970. It is an outgrowth of earlier political experiments, most notably those of Saul Alinsky, the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, and the National Welfare Rights Organization, where ACORN's founder, Wade Rathke, worked.

The organization now has 60,000 member families in 27 states in the south, along the East Coast and across the Middle West, with chapters as far west as Arizona and Colorado, and an affiliate in California.

The group is best known for local campaigns -- fighting to open vacant housing for low income residents, to prevent the closing of libraries and day care centers, against sales taxes and insurance red-lining, for lifeline utility rates.

In 1980, ACORN threw its energies into the Democratic presidential primary for the first time and persuaded both Edward Kennedy and Jimmy Carter to commit themselves to a program for giving low-income people more say in party politics. In response, the party established a special commission which held hearings and issued a report with guidelines for a procedure to ensure participation of low income people.

The report, in ACORN's view,

has been widely ignored. "It was water off a duck's back," says Rathke. "Just some more paper in the file. So this year, we said if we're going to deliver the bacon, it will be for someone who puts teeth in those rules."

Last spring, ACORN members in 30 cities met and listened to representatives of the Democratic presidential candidates. In two polls of its membership, with some 20,000 people participating, Jackson drew 56 percent, Mondale 35 percent. Hart received less than 100 votes, fewer than the 128 write-in ballots for Reagan.

Since Jackson did not receive 75 percent, ACORN, under its rules, could not formally endorse him. But it did encourage those communities who wanted to work for him to do so.

Pete Ryder, the association's national political director, took a leave of absence and went to New Hampshire one month before the primary, when there were only two or three students working for Jackson. Ryder rapidly pulled together an organization, set up phone banks, a press office, and was drawing thousands to meetings across the state before the "hymie" remark brought massive defections, with volunteers literally fleeing to work for Hart.

After New Hampshire, Ryder moved to Detroit, where Jackson faced powerful opposition from Mayor Coleman Young's organization and the unions, which essentially ran Mondale's Michigan operation. They spent little money, hoped for a low turnout and based their strategy on getting elderly retired members to the polls.

Young himself strongly opposed Jackson. Reporters were repeatedly told by black city employees and union members that while they might prefer Jackson, they would vote for Mondale for fear of losing their jobs. Even the ballots were intimidating -- each voter had to write his or her name, address, and telephone number at the top, then deposit the ballot in a box plainly labelled with the candidate's name, while city and union officials looked on.

Yet in the two Detroit districts where ACORN ran bus service to polling booths and campaigned intensively, Jackson chalked up 30 and 40 percent of the vote.

"I believe the Jackson campaign appeals to conditions as opposed to color," says Elena Hanggi, ACORN's president, "that is, to people who are hurting, who have been ignored, or worse, trodden over by the Reagan administration."

"Rev. Jackson seems to be the only candidate who can address the issues we have to face everyday. Nobody harbors any illusion that he will be the Democratic candidate. That is not what this campaign is about. But those candidates will have to deal in concrete ways with the disenfranchisement we feel."

"Jackson's a one-man show," says Rathke. "We're oriented towards organization. We share a constituency here. He has a unique ability to fire a constituency, but no ability to organize it. He can play first horn, and we can make sure the band is there."

"We're dealing with a people's movement towards Jackson that transcends any organization. We're just in step with the larger force."

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DC Cont'd

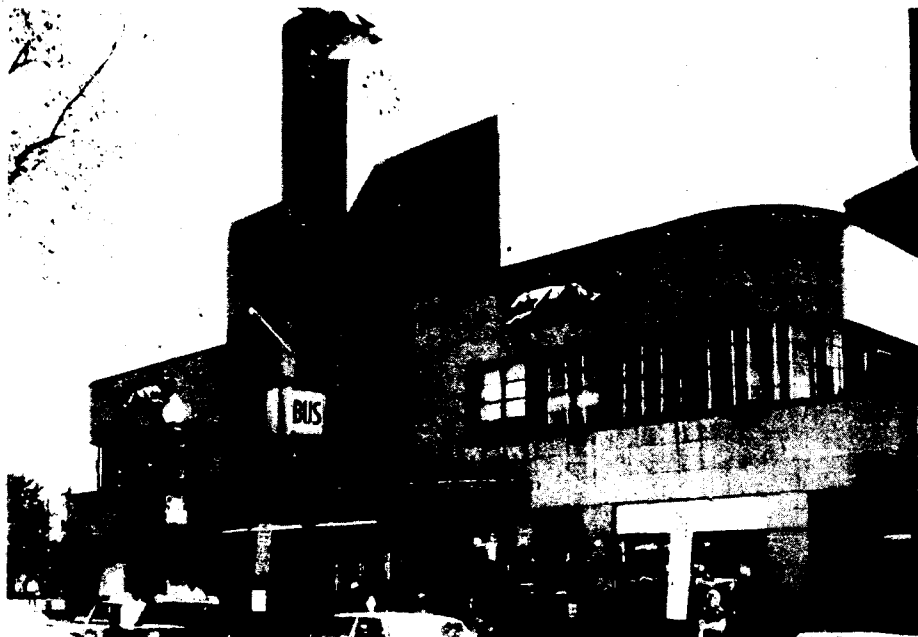
council seat now held by the ineffectual Jerry Moore. By law, two of the council seats cannot be held by the majority party. At the present time the Republicans have one and the Statehood Party the other. Schwartz will have to beat Moore in the Republican primary.

**NON STORY OF THE MONTH:** You've undoubtedly heard about Jesse Jackson's candidacy boosting black voter turnout all over the country. Well, it didn't happen in DC. In fact, about 12,000 fewer people voted in this year's Democratic primary than in the 1982 mayoral and councilmanic primary. Although about one-third of this decline occurred in mostly white Ward Three -- where apparently none of the choices being offered thrilled many voters, in the other wards there was an overall 8% decline over the 1982 figures. This is an interesting example of what journalists think should be happening blinding them to what actually is happening. The turnout varied from ward to ward. Ward Five, one of the wards targeted in the registration drive produced only 726 more voters than in 1982. Ward One had 102 less, Ward Six was down about 800 voters.

**HOME RULE RUBARB:** It looks as if we will all have to be patient and wait for the DC Court of Appeals (and then probably the Supreme Court) to decide whether the Home Rule Act is constitutional -- or wait for Congress to amend the act to eliminate the ambiguity. We now have three court decisions running two to one in favor the act's constitutionality, which was thrown in doubt by the Supreme Court's rejection of congressional legislative vetoes in the so-called Chadha decision.

**COMPREHENSIVE PLAN:** Although the comprehensive plan is partially law now, the land use segment won't be complete until this fall. By September, the mayor is required to submit a generalized land use map, or a series of maps, representing the policies contained in the plan. Note that this requirement does not guarantee that a land use map will be enacted into law. That battle, key to protecting neighborhood interests, will be decided at that time.

Photo by Richard Longstreth



Last month, we mentioned the old Greyhound Bus Terminal facade -- covered up by a new one but still there, for which Don't Tear It Down and the Art Deco Society have applied for landmark status. Since some of our readers may have arrived in town after the 1976 renovation, we thought we'd show you what the building looked like before it was "improved."

**BACKTRACKING ON STATEHOOD:** Once again the city's politicians have displayed their rampant ambivalence about statehood by voting to postpone elections of surrogate senators and a representative until 1986. Hilda Mason joined in the vote in order to avoid a proposal that was even worse -- postponing the election until 1985, an off-year with low voter turnout. It is hard to underestimate the curiousness of a jurisdiction that claims a burning desire for self-government and then proceeds to cancel elections for arbitrary and capricious reasons. What appears to have happened is that the executive branch simply stalled on preparations for the election until it became bureaucratically impossible for them to be held when scheduled. This is the same excuse that was used for cancelling the ANC elections. In this case, the mayor and the council are simply ignoring the will of the voters expressed in the statehood constitution initiative. They are banking, we suppose, on no one taking them to court on the matter. The move was taken, incidentally, by emergency action, an emergency created by the city government's deliberate inaction.

**WHERE THE COUNCIL CHANGED THE BUDGET:** Last month we noted Dave Clarke's complaint that we had unfairly graded the council on

passage of the budget. One of his arguments is that the net figure obscures changes the council made in priorities. Keeping in mind that we are talking about a \$2 billion budget, here are some of the major changes the council made:

Cut \$1.1 million from the Department of Finance and Revenue.

Cut \$900,000 from the Office of Mayor, Inspector General, and Department of Administrative Services.

Cut \$2.5 million from economic development and housing offices.

Cut \$3 million from Medicaid in anticipation of legislation that would produce a similar sum through improved recovery of payments due while adding \$2.2 million to other human service programs.

Added \$1.7 million to the fire department while cutting police, courts, and justice programs.

Added \$125,000 to the library budget while taking away a similar amount from recreation programs.

**SHELTER PETITION DRIVE UNDERWAY:** The drive to get 21,000 signatures on a petition for an initiative affirming the right of shelter for homeless people and to require the provision of shelter is now underway. If you are interested in helping with drive, please call the DC Committee on Overnight Shelter, 332-4332.

**WHITE HOUSE SIDEWALK REGS OVERTURNED:** US judge William Bryant

Democratic Primary Results

	JACKSON	MONDALE	HART	TOTAL	JACKSON	MONDALE	HART
WARD ONE	7340	2753	847	10940	67.1%	25.2%	7.7%
WARD TWO	5013	2982	1345	9340	53.7%	31.9%	14.4%
WARD THREE	1363	5598	2718	9679	14.1%	57.8%	28.1%
WARD FOUR	14575	3898	453	18926	77.0%	20.6%	2.4%
WARD FIVE	12043	3263	356	15662	76.9%	20.8%	2.3%
WARD SIX	8643	2907	1023	12573	68.7%	23.1%	8.1%
WARD SEVEN	11529	2944	227	14700	78.4%	20.0%	1.5%
WARD EIGHT	6594	1000	84	7678	85.9%	13.0%	1.1%
	67100	25345	7053	99498	67.4%	25.5%	7.1%



has ruled that restrictions on the activities of demonstrators on the White House sidewalk can not be enforced because they violate the First Amendment. The regulations had restricted the size of demonstrators' signs and the materials signs could be made of, had prohibited stationary signs in the center of the sidewalk, had prohibited demonstrators from sitting down with their signs, and imposed a variety of additional harrasing restrictions on demonstrators. The only restriction the court left standing was one that requires signs to be no greater than one-quarter inch thick.

**DC HARD HIT BY SOCIAL SERVICE CUTS:** A study by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees has found that DC has been the hardest hit among the states as a result of the Reagan social service cuts. DC has lost \$706 per capita in social service dollars since 1981.

**CITY GETS HIGH RISE FIRE TRUCK:** The city has bought a 135-foot aerial fire truck that can reach buildings as high as the tallest in the city. The Stratospear truck is only the second of its kind in the nation, although similar trucks are on order for Fairfax and Roanoke, Virginia. Galveston, Tex., purchased the first. The ladder, 35 feet longer than the standard one, is on a truck that does not require a tiller operator for rear steering.

**MEDICAID CAP APPROVED:** The mayor and 12 hospitals have signed an

agreement extending the Maxicap program, which limits the city's payments to hospitals for Medicaid costs. The agreement sets a \$100.8 million limit -- up \$3 million from last year.

## Land deals

The GSA has indicated that it would like to buy the main post office at some point for possible use by congressional offices. The post office plans to relocate its central facility to Brentwood Road in the next four years. The Capitol Architect has said that the old post office could be used in part for housing printing operations for congressional newsletters.

The National Museum of Women in the Arts has bought the old Town Theatre at 13th & New York Ave.

## DC People

Cable Television Design Commission director Antonio Ruiz, resigning after he named but not charged in a federal grand jury indictment involving the distribution of cocaine.

Wesley Watkins, named new director of the local ACLU chapter. Watkins has a long record of civil rights and civil liberties litigation, including a land mark challenge to a Mississippi ban on black speakers at white universities.

## Where the Votes Come From

	1984 DEM VOTE	% OF TOTAL	1980 DEM VOTE	% OF TOTAL
WARD 4	18926	19.0%	23203	18.7%
WARD 5	15662	15.7%	19742	15.9%
WARD 7	14700	14.8%	18326	14.7%
WARD 6	12573	12.6%	14334	11.5%
WARD 1	10940	11.0%	13313	10.7%
WARD 3	9679	9.7%	14025	11.3%
WARD 2	9340	9.4%	11958	9.6%
WARD 8	7678	7.7%	9475	7.6%
	99498		124376	

This chart shows the ranking of the wards by Democratic turnout in the 1984 Democratic primary and the 1980 general election. In each election about 50% of the vote came from Wards 4, 5 and 7. And, with the exception of Ward 3 dropping one place this time, the rankings of the wards are identical and the percentages of total turnout are very close.

# WHAT'S HAPPENING AROUND TOWN

**SISTERFIRE '84:** Roadwork's third annual open air celebration of women performing artists has expanded to two days this year and will take place on Saturday and Sunday June 23-24 at Takoma Park Junior High School, Takoma Park Md. (on the Red Line). Sisterfire is a diverse, multicultural gathering of women musicians, dancers, poets, dramatists and merchants. Tickets are \$14 for one day and \$22 for both days in advance, \$15 for one day and \$25 for two days at the gate. Children under 12 are admitted free. Tickets may be ordered by mailing check, money order, or Mastercard/VISA number and expiration date to Roadwork, 1435 Harvard St. NW, DC 20009. Childcare will be provided. Info: 234-9308.

**HERPES SUPPORT GROUP:** Metro Medical and Women's Center is providing a monthly support group for individuals who have Herpes. The meetings are designed to provide medical information as well as emotional support. They

take place the second Monday of the month at 630pm at the center, 3937 Ferrara Drive, Wheaton, Md. Info: 949-3900.

**SANE NEEDS VOLUNTEERS:** SANE is looking for people who can spend one or two evenings a month making phone call, stuffing envelopes, and helping with other tasks. Info: 546-7100

**WASHINGTON PEACE CENTER NEWSLETTER:** For a complimentary copy of the Washington Peace Center's monthly newsletter, write the center at 2111 Florida Av. NW, DC 20009.

**HOUSING IS NEEDED FOR FOREIGN STUDENTS** by the Foreign Student Service Council. If you have a spare room to rent to a student for a long or short-term basis, in exchange for money or service, the council would like to list it. Info: 232-4949.

Health Commissioner Ernest Hardaway, resigned after a series of controversies, including the fact that Hardaway had a second salaried job at Howard University, and that he spent \$9000 to remodel his office.

Arlene Gilesbie named to head the DC Office of Latino Affairs. She was formerly deputy director.

Mark Griffith, local lawyer, named president of the Columbia Historical Society.

Planning Director John McKoy, resigned to take a job in private industry.

Fred L. Greene, currently director of the Montgomery County's Department of Housing and Urban Development, named planning director to replace McKoy.

Marion Barry, elected to a two year term as president of the National Conference of Mayors.

Patricia Shannon, vice president for community relations at the DC National Bank, named president of the Washington Council of Agencies. Other new board members include Sterling Tucker, former DC finance chief Carolyn Smith, UPO director Pete Ward, Iona House director Elizabeth Fox and Mrs. Rockwood Foster.

Roadsigns

Washington DC is the second largest beverage consumer in the United States.

POPULATION TRENDS: Between the 1970 and 1980 censuses, the city lost about 118,000 people, an average of about 12,000 a year. Since 1980 this loss seems to have slowed dramatically. By city estimates, the population only dropped by about 7800 people in 80-81, 1500 in 81-82 and 1600 in 82-83. White population, which dropped from 28% of the total in 1970 to 22% in 1975 was back up to 27% in 1980. Since then there has been no change.

The elderly population, which rose from 9.4% in 1970 to 11.6% in 1980 has also stayed fairly constant since and latest estimates place it at 11.6%.

The same has been true of the youth population, which comprised about 29.6% of the total in 1970, dropped to 20.1% in 1980 and now stands at 21.3%.

According to a city report, "It is too early to tell whether the changes in patterns of the last couple of years are permanent or temporary. The net out-migration to the suburbs, which accounted for almost all of the loss in the 1970s, was to a considerable extent families with children and with middle incomes. In long range terms, family size has been steadily decreasing for several years; there has been a steady increase of one and two person families. This has undoubtedly contributed to the slowing of out-migration. So in the long run, the net out-migration may well continue to decrease and even eventually become a modest net

in-migration. On the other hand, a significant economic phenomenon contributing to the slowing has undoubtedly been high interest rates which have slowed the construction industry and frozen into renter status in the District many families who might otherwise be home purchasers in the suburbs. This may be a short-term phenomenon."

Napalm Cont'd

large discolored welts patterned like a shot gun wound. She says she received her wounds from an incendiary bomb which killed her family.

"I have treated many victims of bomb attacks," says a European doctor who specializes in war-related injuries and who examined the two women, "and the wounds of these two victims do not correspond to wounds incurred from normal fragmentation bombs. These people were burned by an incendiary substance. It is now impossible for me to determine exactly what that substance was, but it probably was napalm and in the case of the more profound wounds, white phosphorous."

Civilians from the zone speculate that the Air Force is dropping incendiary weapons to force them out of guerrilla-held territory. They say that many of the small villages in the area are now burned.

"These bombs," says one man, "not only burn down our villages and homes but our plots of land. We are left after the attack with nothing."

This is not the first time the Salvadoran Air Force has been charged with using incendiary bombs. Rebel insurgents in the zone have condemned the use of

these weapons on several occasions. Residents from the Guazapa region appealed to human rights groups after a large scale military operation in February, 1983, known as "Guazapa 10," which included several incendiary bomb attacks.

The president of the Salvadoran government's Commission on Human Rights, Marianella Garcia Villas, went into the zone to investigate the charges. As she was leaving the area on March 14, 1983, she was murdered, along with several other civilians who accompanied her, by soldiers from the Atlacatl IR Battalion, according to survivors of the attack.

Garcia had collected tape-recorded testimony from victims of incendiary attacks, taken many photographs and was carrying soil samples she thought contained residues left by incendiary bombs.

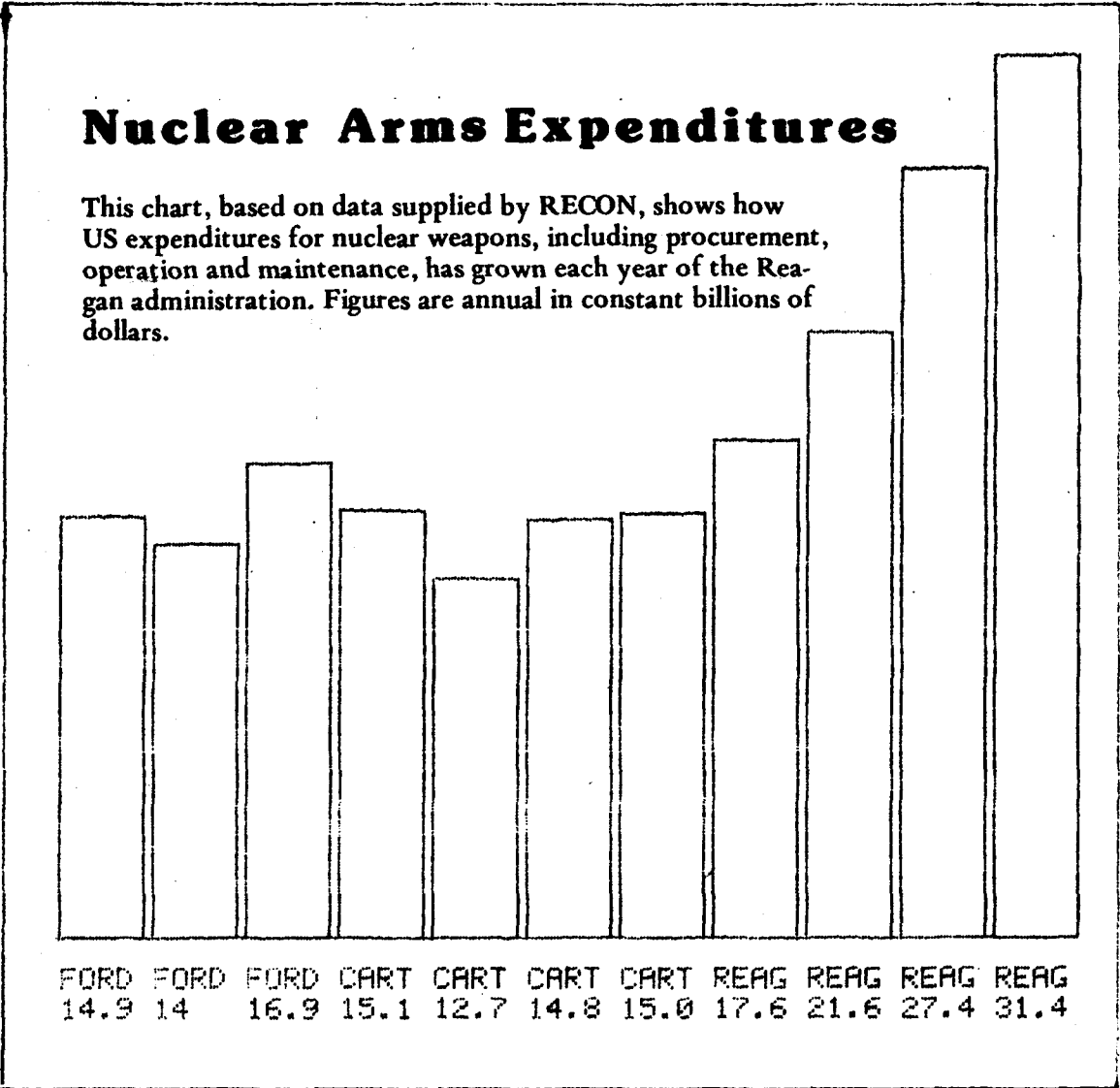
One of those with her managed to escape with the tapes, photos and samples.

The soil samples are currently in Great Britain. The organization which had the samples requested in a telephone interview that it not be identified. It says it has not had the samples tested, but plans to do so. The pictures and tapes languish, unused and unpublished, in an office in San Salvador.

After the "Guazapa 10" operation, incendiary bomb attacks diminished, though they did occur sporadically, according to those who live in the zone. But they say that in recent weeks the incendiary bombs are once again being used frequently.

On April 12, 65 residents from the town of Guadalupe fled, they say, because their village and the small clusters of houses nearby were burned by incendiary bombs.

The bombings were followed by the invasion of the Atlacatl and the Ramon Belloso IR Battalions into the zone. Rather than face the army, residents fled further





inside the zone. Those who survive contend some 400 people spent a day running from the oncoming soldiers.

On the second day the army spotted the large mass of people.

"Those who were behind nearby the river were spotted first," one survivor says. "And those of us up front heard a tremendous sound of gun fire. It went for a long time. We continued up the mountain until we were met by troops who captured us."

"We have never seen or heard from the others below. We have all lost family members and friends. We wonder if they all died, or some escaped."

"When we were surrounded by the soldiers, they told us to give them our arms. We said the only arms we had were our children."

Of those captured, 43 were small children 12 were young mothers and 10 were older men. All are now living in a displaced persons camp in the capital run by the Roman Catholic church.

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## PARKING Cont'd

**GROUNDWELL:** The bimonthly publication of the Nuclear Information and Resource Service, which features coverage of nuclear issues. Also a four page news supplement between regular issues. \$10 for an individual subscription from NIRS, 1346 Conn. Ave. NW, (4th floor), DC 20036.

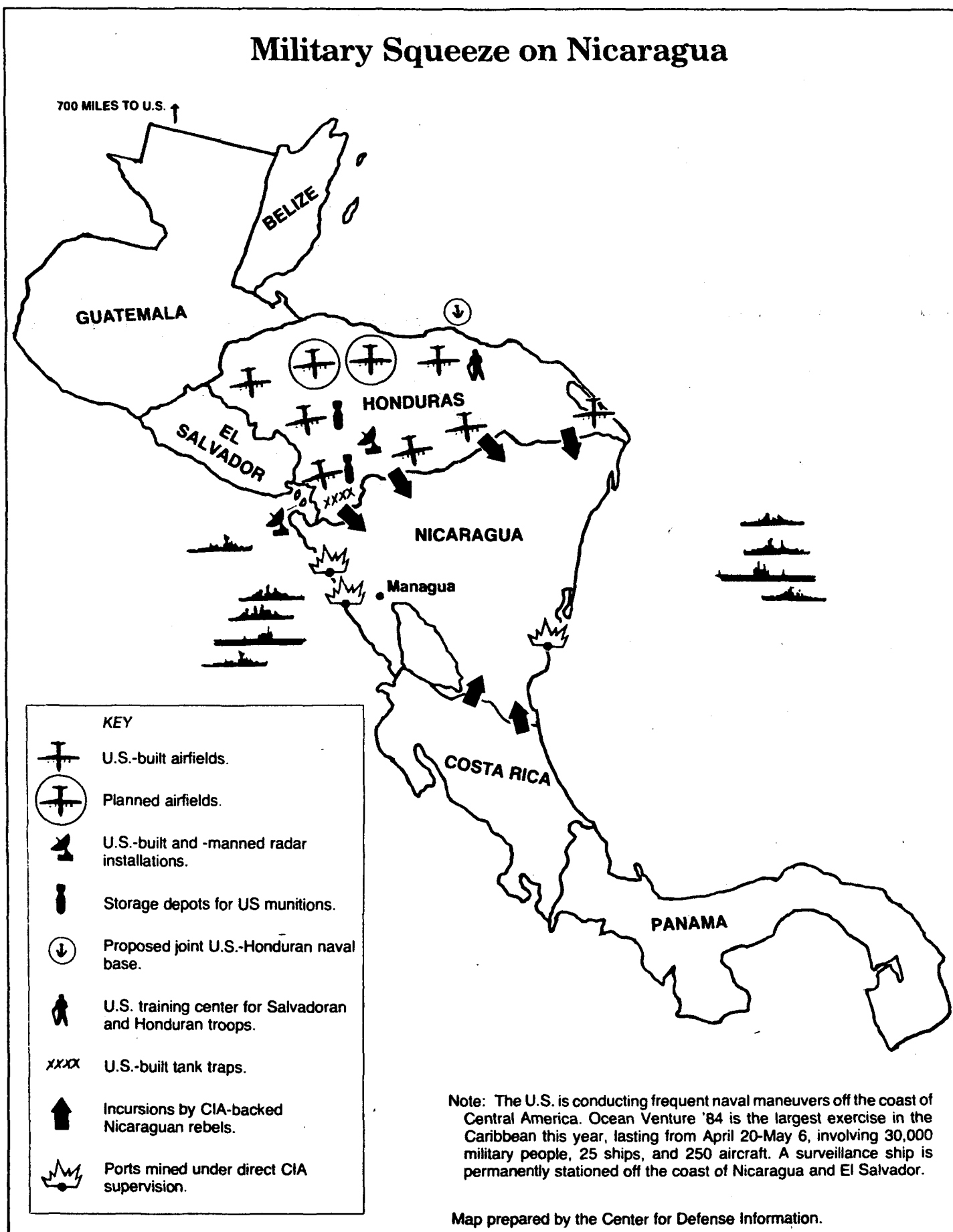
**INTERNATIONAL HUMAN UNITY CONFERENCE:** A variety of large group, small group and workshop events. Presenters include King Goodwill of the Zulu Nation, Frances Horn, Gerald Jampolsky, Bernie Siegel and William Pasikov. Write David Pasikov, HUC'84, Rt. 3, Box 87, Epping NH 03042 (603-679-2211)

**AMERICANS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY:** This new group describes itself as a "political activist group working to establish a nuclear freeze, preserving civil liberties and ending US aggression abroad. We are a much-needed liberal response to the well-heeled conservative special interest groups that threaten to destroy American democracy as we know it." Info: ADS, PO Box 13404, Albany NY 12212.

## APPLE Cont'd

grass-roots opposition. State senator Joseph Strohl wanted to make indoor plumbing mandatory, but he failed to reckon with "People's

## Military Squeeze on Nicaragua



## LEFTIE Cont'd

developing grass-roots people--not fund-raising sources--but as empowered people with control over their own lives.

Leftie junk mail just doesn't cut it. It's more of the same old "let the experts do it" while we sit back twiddling our thumbs.

Another question I ask myself, as 3-4 different pleas come in daily, is how many other folks are actually getting these letters? Is it simply--that fabled "small circle of friends"--continually drawing on the same sources? Could I name with reasonable accuracy, everyone else in McLean County who will be getting the same letters?

Finally, what leftie junk mail represents is the transformation of leftist politics into another commodity of consumer culture. The existing two parties have done this already. As political pleas are mixed in with the detergent coupons, politics--including leftist politics--becomes another saleable commodity,

another item bought and sold, whether on the supermarket shelves or the junk mail barrage. Just as I can choose my shampoo, I can now delude myself into choosing "my issue"--picking Central America over race relations, and fooling myself into not seeing the connections between them.

Perhaps another way to express the same thing is the analogy a frequent Post contributor uses: "Some people like to play with electric trains. I like to play with politics. It's all just a game, nothing really serious."

I know my friend's commitment runs deeper than that. But leftie junk mail adds to the illusion that politics is leisure, that I can choose my issue, spend my dollars, and feel I've done my part. At the same time, the left becomes a desperate, anonymous organization, without the leaven of real concerns and viewpoints from everyday people--and this is what needs to be heard, organized and translated into political power.

Otherwise, I'd rather play with my electric trains.

-MGM

Organization for Outhouse Preservation." POOP claimed that outdoor privies not only save water, but also provide Halloween entertainment. Flushed with victory the group has now disbanded.

Baseball is now the country's number one spectator sport, dethroning horse racing after a rein of 30 years. A new survey shows that 78 million people attended baseball games last year, with the biggest jump in attendance occurring at college ball games. Other top spectator sports: auto racing, football, basketball and greyhound racing.

Only in California: The California Supreme Court has ruled that a woman

convicted of endangering the lives of her two infants by putting them on a low-protein macrobiotic diet cannot now be barred from conceiving children. The state had asked that the woman be required to bear no more children for five years as a condition of probation.

A 12 year-old Rhode Island boy has been charged with sexually assaulting a 10-year old girl on a pool table while other children looked on. The boy had reportedly been watching cable tv's coverage of the Fall River trial. Of the boy, who pleaded not guilty to first degree sexual assault, the head of the local juvenile prosecution unit said, "the kid unfortunately watched too much stuff on tv."

## WEATHER Cont'd

. dropped from 64% of college students in 1979 to 52% today.

**UNDERGROUND TESTING VERIFIABLE?** A recent scientific breakthrough makes it possible to verify a treat with the Soviet Union banning all underground testing of nuclear weapons retired admiral Noel Gayler, former director of the National Security Agency, has told Congress. Gayler cited a study that indicates underground nuclear explosions transmit through the crust of the earth high-frequency waves much





## COMPUTERS Cont'd

implicitly or explicitly, that if they don't become "computer literate" the parade will pass them by. For the working adult this in itself can create anxiety. The white collar worker not only faces the problem of learning a whole new way of doing things, but does so with the knowledge that failure may result in less money, fewer promotions or even loss of the job. Heinssen notes, "A lot of people work where they are told that they have to learn about computers or word processors. Their jobs are on the line and this leads to feelings of worry, frustration and increased job stress."

For this reason alone, the research Heinssen, Glass and Robertson are conducting is important. It suggests that being uncomfortable with computers is not a sign of impending senility or rampant incompetence. There is a danger, however, that because the problems involved in the relationship between human and machine have been treated more lightly than they should, many people will remain scared of computers -- even after they start using them. The CU team would like to find ways of changing that.

(For readers in the Washington area: the CU group is holding a series of free workshops for people who get anxious working with or thinking about computers. Info: 635-5750)

**WWRC CHANGING HANDS:** The way appears to have been cleared for Greater Media Inc. to purchase WWRC from NBC. The move puts in doubt the future of the station's extraordinarily appealing talk format, which features the salty Joel E. Spivak, sports doc Gabe Merkin, and financial whiz Bruce Williams. The only possible gain here, if the current talk jockies are axed is that we won't have to listen to Pat Buchanan anymore, but one balance, it would be a shame to lose the WWRC gang. Start those cards and letters going, folks.

## Trinity College Tennis Club Inc.

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Reasonable Family and Single  
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200-2399 or 2303  
Trinity College Tennis Club Inc.  
Michigan Avenue, N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20007

## STONE Cont'd

supplement focused on "effective schools" as its theme.

Ten schools, representing this successful trend, were reported in communities as radically different as Quitman, Ga., San Francisco, Newark, N.J., and the Bronx.

They shared one thing in common -- all kids, no matter how poor, how black or how foreign -- can be taught to excel.

As far back as 1971, that achievement had been substantiated by prominent educators, George Weber, Ronald Edmonds and Matthew Miles, in a series of replicable research projects.

Among the research models cited by Rep. Hawkins, one is Edmonds' work in 20 elementary schools in Detroit's Model Cities neighborhood in 1974 that proved "pupil family background neither causes nor precludes elementary school instruction effectiveness."

Strong administration and creative teaching make the difference.

Under the Hawkins bill, federal funds would be provided to school districts to help them implement a diversity of training programs, seminars, workshops, data collection systems, school materials and best of all, technical assistance.

Good schools can make a difference.

But that will be made possible by the educational methodologies outlined in Hawkins' H.R. 4731, and not by the extravagant rhetoric of a president who has never fully understood the difference between coloring books and nuclear tests.

Phila Daily News

**TAX INCREASE VOTE COMING:** The finance and revenue committee is due to vote on a tax increase package June 20, as the city tries to figure out how to pay for its new budget. Members of the committee include chair John Wilson, Betty Ann Kane, HR Crawford, Polly Shackleton and Hilda Mason.

## McDOWELL Cont'd

stoves. Efficient wood stoves, properly vented, did not seem to trouble him -- unless, perhaps, the wood-burning citizens were too self-righteous.

★ ★ ★

Professor Vogely, by the way, touted me off the notion that stoking wood-burning stoves in the United States contributes to deforestation, which damages watersheds, which leads to erosion, which leads to pollution, etc. That was the kind of "synergism" (multiplying effects) the conference had been talking about, I had assumed.

He said cutting wood for stoves was insignificant in this part of the world; in fact, fuel-gathering might even help a forest. The urgent problem, as a careful reading of the conference's report makes clear, is in tropical forests that are being wiped out. Apart from logging, the loss is attributed to people's real need for wood as basic fuel.

Forests need protection and management for all sorts of synergistic benefits, including fuel to cook the food of one-third of the world's population.

As we had to suspect, our wood-burning stoves are trivial in the world's reality.

Richmond Times-Dispatch

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**WEATHER CONTINUED. . .**  
stronger than those generated by earthquakes.

**REAGAN CHANGES MIND:** The Reagan administration has decided that it no longer will oppose legislation that would cut off all aid to a college that engages in sex discrimination.

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# A STARTLING SPEECH BY GARY HART

These excerpts from a 1982 speech by Gary Hart were published in a recent issue of *New Options*, one of the most important new publications around (about which we will have more to say in a future issue). We have included *New Options*'s comments on the speech.

Gary Hart's high score in our Congressional voting index (*NEW OPTIONS* #1) may seem like an accident, given some of the things he's been saying on the campaign trail. But in September 1982, at the Yale Divinity School, he gave what may have been the most "Green-oriented" speech ever delivered by a serious presidential candidate ("Beyond Economics," condensed below).

Most of the "new ideas" Hart floated in that speech were never to be heard from again; indeed, a couple of them (the need to slow the pace of change, the need for a humanities-based education) Hart now appears to oppose. What happened?

Hart really did "mean" that speech when he gave it, Robert Hamrin, an economics advisor to Hart at the time, told *NEW OPTIONS*. "But I guess he felt that stuff isn't salable or concrete enough, and when you talk in the union halls I guess that stuff would go over people's heads." How could he have been persuaded to develop these ideas, to make them more concrete and salable? "One of the top three people in the campaign would have had to encourage him," says Hamrin. But Kathy Bushkin was only "somewhat sympathetic," and Pudge Henkel and Bill Shore were definitely "not into that."

Where were we in all this?

We all know this country faces very serious economic problems. Unemployment is up to pre-World War II levels; interest rates remain high; business investment is lethargic; and the federal deficit still looms ominously.

We need some answers to these problems, and in other forums I have talked about some potential answers. But I don't intend to talk about them here. As serious as these challenges are, they may be only the surface of the problem, like the bark of a great tree.

Today, I want to try to penetrate the bark. I want to examine the core of the tree to see if there may be some deeper deficiencies.

## More is not enough

What path can we take to do this? It may start with the realization that in a larger, social sense, all economic policies have been failing for at least a century and possibly longer. Time and time again, nations have succeeded eco-

nomically—both in terms of growth and equitable distribution of wealth—only to find social dissatisfaction growing, not diminishing.

In America, the economic success of the 1950s was followed by the widespread social turmoil of the 60s. And the dissatisfaction was led by many of those who had benefited most from the economic gains.

Something fundamental has gone wrong. Success does not succeed. "More" is not enough.

## Toward a nobler economics

Economics in its modern sense was born along with industrialism in the 18th century. It defined man as an economic creature—a creature driven almost exclusively by material wants.

Unfortunately for economics, "economic man" does not exist.

We are not defined by our possessions. Our vision reaches beyond the material plane. The quantitative instruments of economics cannot circumscribe the human spirit.

Without economic prosperity, of course, we cannot meet the needs of our own people and others throughout the world. But prosperity does not provide purpose. It is not—of itself—a worthwhile vision.

To use the language of economists: traditional economics is necessary but simply not sufficient. Perhaps we need, in the words of Theodore Roszak, "a nobler economics that is not afraid to discuss spirit and conscience, moral purpose and the meaning of life."

In a sense, an economics of such richness and depth would be so different from economics as we know it today that perhaps a new term is needed. Certainly, we need a broader term than economics to describe the overall foundation for government and public policy. The term I suggest is "statecraft."

Statecraft is not a fancy new theory—as "supply side" economics once was. Rather, it's an attempt to make national policies sensitive to deeper motivations than the desire for a paycheck.

## The stones of statecraft

To give some content to the notion of statecraft, we must take a number of themes into consideration in devising public policies:

First, **decentralization**. Room for human growth can be provided best within small units. Local control in politics, in social issues and in the business world must be a central theme.

Second, **community**. To have richness instead of isolation in our personal lives, we must allow communities to grow. Economic policies—public or private—which shatter community are destructive to the human spirit, however "efficient" they may be.

Third, a **manageable pace of change**. We must control the pace of change, rather than letting it control us. Technology must adapt to human realities, not vice versa.

Fourth, we must question **modernity's most sacred cow**: the notion that "you can't turn back the clock." Of course, in many areas we wouldn't want to return to past practices. But in some areas, including such divergent fields as public transportation and the arts, we must say with some sadness that what we had once is often better than what we have now.

Fifth, we must give more thought to **aesthetics**. John Ruskin's attempt to blend economics and aesthetics may not have been the blind alley most classical economists think it is.

Sixth, we must give greater consideration to the **act of producing**. We focus too much on the product, rather than the process. Giving workers a greater voice in their workplace may yield more gains in productivity than replacing them with robots.

Finally, we must think differently about **education**. Education is not training, though training is also valuable. Education is essentially the classical education, intended to give us understanding of our culture and our values.

A great nation must have a great framework by which it is to govern itself. Industrial economics is simply insufficient. The idea of statecraft, or something like it, must provide the framework and foundation for government in the years to come.

Full text available from: Senator Gary Hart, 237 Russell Office Bldg, DC 20510.

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